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OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

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BOOK VI.

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Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, *to the Acceſſion of Henry* VIII. A. D. 1509.

THE eccleſiaſtical tranſactions in the reign of Henry VII. that merit a place in hiſtory, were not many, and ſhall be related in as few words as poſſible. Cent. XV.

Cardinal Bourchier, who had been archbiſhop of Canterbury thirty-two years, died in January A. D. 1486, and was ſucceeded by John Morton, biſhop of Ely, who had contributed greatly to the elevation of Henry to the throne. This primate convened a ſynod of the prelates and clergy of his province Convocation.

ent. XV. province February 13th, A. D. 1487, at St. Paul's, for the reformation of the manners of the clergy. Complaints were made to the ſynod, that the preachers of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, in their ſermons at Paul's croſs, inveighed againſt the vices of the clergy in the hearing of the laity, who all, ſaid they, hate the clergy, and delight to hear their vices expoſed. The prior of St. John was called, and appeared before the ſynod, and promiſed to correct this great abuſe. The invectives of theſe preachers, however, do not ſeem to have been without foundation; for many of the London clergy were accuſed in this convocation, of ſpending their whole time in taverns and alehouſes, of concealing their tonſure, and allowing their hair to grow long, and of imitating the laity in their dreſs. They were ſeverely reprimanded for theſe enormities. This convocation granted a tenth of their benefices for one year to the king, and inſtituted a new holy-day to commemorate the transfiguration of Chriſt, to be obſerved every year on the 7th of Auguſt[1].

toral er. Immediately after the convocation was diſmiſſed, the primate publiſhed a paſtoral letter for the reformation of the lives and habits of the clergy. In this letter the good primate doth not trouble his clergy with recommending a ſingle virtue, or reproving a ſingle vice; but he charges them, with great ſolemnity, not to wear ſhort liripoops of ſilk nor gowns open before, nor ſwords, nor daggers nor embroidered girdles; to be very careful o

[1] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 618.

their

their tonſure, and to keep their hair always ſo ſhort that all the world may ſee their ears; and he threatens them with very ſevere cenſures, if they do not obſerve theſe injunctions. He recommends reſidence on their benefices to all rectors and vicars who have only one living, and no diſpenſation, nor canonical impediment, nor lawful excuſe for non-reſidence, that they may preſerve their flocks from that rapacious wolf the devil[2]. Cent. XV.

The diſſolute manners of the clergy, eſpecially of the regulars, made a mighty noiſe at this time, and gave great offence to the laity, who were provoked to ſee the immenſe poſſeſſions, beſtowed upon the church by the miſtaken piety of their anceſtors, ſo ſhamefully abuſed. The court of Rome became apprehenſive that this diſcontent of the laity might produce diſagreeable effects. Pope Innocent VIII. ſent a bull to archbiſhop Morton in March 1490, in which he acquaints him, that he had heard with great grief from perſons worthy of credit, that the monks of all the different orders in England had grievouſly degenerated; "and that "giving themſelves up to a reprobate ſenſe, they "led lewd and diſſolute lives, by which they "brought ruin upon their own ſouls, ſet an ill "example to others, and gave great offence and "ſcandal to many." His holineſs then directed the primate to admoniſh the abbots and priors of all the convents in his province, to reform themſelves, and thoſe under them; and if any of them did not obey that admonition, he gave him autho- Papal bull.

[2] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 620.

Cent. XV. rity to viſit and reform them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to cut off incurable members by deprivation, and to call the ſecular arm to his aſſiſtance when it was neceſſary [3].

Monitory letter. In obedience to this bull the primate ſent monitory letters to the ſuperiors of all the convents and religious houſes in his province, admoniſhing and commanding them, by the authority he had received from the pope, to reform themſelves, and their ſubjects, from certain vices, of which they were ſaid to be guilty, and of which he accuſed them. The monitory letter that was ſent on this occaſion to the abbot of St. Alban's, hath been publiſhed. If that abbot and his monks were ſtained with all the odious vices, of which the primate ſays in his letter they were notoriouſly guilty, they were a moſt execrable crew, and ſtood much in need of reformation. Some of theſe vices are ſo deteſtable, that they cannot be ſo much as named in hiſtory. "You are infamous, (ſays he to the "abbot,) for ſimony, uſury, and ſquandering away "the poſſeſſions of your monaſtery, beſides other "enormous crimes mentioned below." One of theſe crimes was, that he had turned all the modeſt women out of the two nunneries of Pray and Sapwell, (over which he pretended to have a juriſdiction,) and filled them with proſtitutes; that they were eſteemed no better than brothels, and that he and his monks publicly frequented them as ſuch. His grace ſeems to have been well informed; for he names ſome of theſe infamous women and their

[3] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 630.

gallants.

gallants. The monks were at leaſt as profligate as their abbot: for beſides keeping concubines both within and without the monaſtery, he accuſes them of ſtealing the church plate and jewels, and even of picking the jewels out of the ſhrine of their patron St. Alban. He allows them ſixty days to reform from all their vices, eſpecially from cutting down the woods, and ſtealing the plate and jewels of the monaſtery; but if they did not reform in that time, and become very chaſte, honeſt, and good monks, he threatens them with a viſitation [4]. What effect this monitory letter had on the abbot and his monks we are not informed: it is probable that it was not great. For we learn from the ſame letter, that they had been ſeveral times admoniſhed before to no purpoſe. When the monaſtics lived in idleneſs, wallowed in wealth and luxury, and were doomed to celibacy, the temptations to certain vices were too ſtrong to be overcome by monitory letters, which they probably conſidered as things of courſe. Cent. XV.

The avarice of Henry VII. was ſoon diſcovered, and became univerſally known; and the clergy ſecured his favour by granting him money from time to time. Both the convocations of Canterbury and York met, A. D. 1491, and each of them granted him a tenth of their livings for one year [5]. Convocations.

Henry VII. neglected no opportunity of depreſſing the houſe of York, and exalting that of Lancaſter, from which he pretended to derive his title to the throne. Henry VI. the laſt king of the Petition to the pope.

4 Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 632. 5 Ibid. p. 634, 635.

Cent. XV. houſe of Lancaſter, had been buried firſt in the abbey of Chertſey, to which there was a prodigious concourſe of people to behold the miracles that were ſaid to be wrought at his tomb. To put a ſtop to this, Richard III. removed the body from Chertſey, and interred it in the collegiate church in the caſtle of Windſor, to which the people had not ſuch eaſy acceſs. Henry preſented a petition to the pope, A. D. 1494, for his permiſſion to tranſlate the ſacred remains of that pious king from Windſor to Weſtminſter, a place of much greater celebrity, where many of the kings and queens of England lay intombed, though the dean and chapter of Windſor oppoſed the tranſlation [6]. A mighty king applies to a foreign prieſt to overcome the reſiſtance of his own chaplains; ſo ſmall was the authority of kings, and ſo great the authority of popes, over the eccleſiaſtics of thoſe times!

Still further to aggrandiſe the houſe of Lancaſter, Henry, in the ſame year, 1494, petitioned the pope to canoniſe Henry VI. and tranſmitted a long liſt of the wonderful miracles wrought by that pious prince, both in his life-time and after his death; particularly that he had given ſight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, ſtrength to the lame, and had cured all other diſeaſes. The pope granted a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Durham to examine into the ſanctity of this royal candidate for canoniſation, and into the reality of his miracles [7]. This affair, however, was never accompliſhed, and Henry was never canon-

[6] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 635. [7] Ibid. p. 640.

iſed,

iſed, being as unfortunate after his death as he had been during his life; nor are we informed what put a ſtop to this pious project. The moſt probable conjecture is, that Henry VII. found that the canoniſation of a king would coſt more money than he had imagined or was diſpoſed to expend. Cent. XV.

Archbiſhop Morton died A. D. 1500, and was ſucceeded by Henry Dean, biſhop of Saliſbury. This being the year of jubilee, prodigious multitudes crowded to Rome from all chriſtian countries, to partake of the pardons and indulgences that were then diſpenſed in great profuſion. But as many good catholics, who lived in diſtant countries, wiſhed to ſhare in thoſe benefits, but were not able to bear the fatigue or the expence of ſo long a journey, the pope Alexander V. to accommodate them, and to diſpoſe of the ſpiritual treaſures of the church, which are inexhauſtible, ſent agents into every country, furniſhed with ſufficient quantities of theſe ſacred commodities, which they ſold to all who choſe to buy them. One Jaſper Pons, a Spaniard, was ſent into England on this occaſion, who managed this traffic with ſo much addreſs, that he collected and carried off a great maſs of money, without giving much ſcandal[8]. Jubilee.

One of the arts employed by the nuncio to get money and avoid ſcandal was this: He gave out, that all the money he received for pardons, indulgences, &c. was to be expended in an expedition againſt the Turks. To procure credit to this aſſertion, he brought a bull from the pope to the Bull.

[8] Antiq. Britan. p. 334.

Cent. XV. king, in which his holineſs acquainted him, that he and his brethren the cardinals, in a ſolemn conclave, had reſolved upon an expedition againſt the Turks, thoſe cruel enemies of the chriſtian faith; that they had ſettled the plan of operations, and wanted nothing but money, fleets, and armies, for which they depended on the religious zeal of chriſtian princes and ſtates. He acquainted him with the plan of operations; that the kings of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia were to invade Romania; the French and Spaniards to attack the Turks in Greece; and the Engliſh, Venetians, and other maritime powers, to make an attempt on Conſtantinople with a ſtrong fleet and army. He concluded with conjuring the king, in the moſt earneſt manner, to engage with all his power in this moſt holy and pious undertaking. To this bull Henry returned a civil but evaſive anſwer; the nuncio conveyed his money to Rome, and the expedition againſt the Turks was no more mentioned [9].

Cent. XVI. Henry Dean, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died A. D. 1502, and was ſucceeded by William Warham, biſhop of London. The diſciples of Wickliff, then commonly called Lollards, had been ſo long and ſo cruelly perſecuted, that their numbers were much diminiſhed; and many who had imbibed thoſe dangerous opinions, carefully concealed them. It appears alſo that the Lollards at this time were not in general ſo ambitious of the crown of martyrdom as they had been formerly; for many of

[9] Bacon, ad an. 1500.

them

them, when they were accuſed of hereſy, and threatened with the cruel death inflicted on heretics, recanted, and burnt their faggot, to preſerve themſelves from burning. The fires, however, in which heretics were conſumed, were not extinguiſhed. Many, both men and women, were reduced to aſhes for the crime of hereſy in the laſt years of Henry VII.; of whoſe ſufferings thoſe readers who take pleaſure in peruſing ſuch ſhocking relations will find a full account in the work quoted below[10]. Cent. XVI.

SECTION II.

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, from the Acceſſion of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509, *to the Acceſſion of Edward* VI. A. D. 1547.

THAT the ſtate of religion and of the church of England underwent great changes in the reign of Henry VIII. is univerſally known. But it is neceſſary to remark, that theſe changes were brought about by the ſtate, and not by the church, and that therefore the hiſtory of them belongs to civil rather than to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; for this reaſon, the occaſions, cauſes, and other circumſtances of the moſt important of theſe changes, have been related in their proper places, in the firſt chapter of this book; and it only now remains to give a brief account of the tranſactions of this The church reformed by the ſtate.

[10] Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 710—715.

period

Ch. XVI. period that were more ſtrictly eccleſiaſtical, which may be compriſed within moderate limits.

The Engliſh attached to Rome.

Few nations in Europe ſeemed to be more firmly attached to the court and church of Rome, than the Engliſh at the acceſſion of Henry VIII. The clergy, both ſecular and regular, were univerſally devoted to the papacy, and more the ſubjects of the pope than of their native ſovereign. They defended all the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the church with much zeal, and perſecuted all who preſumed to call any of theſe in queſtion with unrelenting cruelty. The laity, indeed, ſometimes railed at the vices, and repined at the riches of their ſpiritual guides; but the far greateſt number of them entertained no doubts of the infallibility of the pope, or of the truth of any of the tenets of the church. The king had been inſpired by his inſtructors with the higheſt veneration for his holy father at Rome, and with the moſt violent hatred to hereſy and heretics. This attachment of the king and the clergy to the ſee of Rome continued unabated during the firſt nineteen years of this reign. The tranſactions therefore of that period were of the ſame kind with thoſe of former periods, and do not merit a minute inveſtigation.

Conſecrated roſe.

The popes of the times we are delineating ſeldom neglected to preſent ſome conſecrated trinket that was much valued, and that coſt them little, to thoſe princes at their acceſſion, from whom they expected ſubſtantial favours. Julius II. ſent a conſecrated roſe of gold dipped in chriſm, and perfumed with muſk, to archbiſhop Warham April 5th,

5th, A. D. 1510, to be preſented to the king at high maſs, with his apoſtolical benediction. Henry received the precious roſe, and more precious benediction, with profound reverence and exceſſive joy [11]. Cent. XVI.

The convocation of the province of Canterbury met at St. Paul's, February 6th, A. D. 1511, and made the king a more valuable preſent, by granting him a ſubſidy of 25,000l [12]. Subſidy.

Great profits accrued in thoſe times to the archbiſhops and biſhops, and the officers of their courts, from the regiſtration and probation of teſtaments, the adminiſtration of the goods of inteſtates, and the trial of cauſes in their ſeveral courts; and violent diſputes aroſe about the diviſion of theſe profits. In former times the teſtaments of all perſons were proved and regiſtered in the court of the dioceſe wherein he had reſided and died, and the ſeveral biſhops and their officials had the adminiſtration of the goods of thoſe who died inteſtate within their dioceſes. Cauſes were alſo tried in the court of the dioceſe in which the parties reſided, though an appeal lay to the archbiſhop's court. This arrangement had been eſtabliſhed by a conſtitution of the papal legate Ottabon, and confirmed by uniform practice. But the late archbiſhop Morton, being a cardinal, chancellor of the kingdom, and prime miniſter, had great power, which he employed in making encroachments on the privileges and emoluments of his ſuffragans and their courts. He pretended that the teſtaments of all Diſpute between the primate and his ſuffragans.

[11] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 652. [12] Ibid.

Cent. XVI. perſons, who had effects in different dioceſes, or who died poſſeſſed of *bona notabilia*, ſhould be proved and regiſtered in the archbiſhop's court, and that the goods of inteſtates in theſe circumſtances ſhould be adminiſtered by his officials. Beſides this, he brought almoſt all litigations into his own court (to which he gave the new name of the prerogative court) by prohibitions, advocations, and admitting appeals before ſentence. Theſe innovations were oppoſed by his ſuffragans, and by none ſo keenly as by William Warham, who acted as advocate to Richard Hill, biſhop of London, who appealed to the pope againſt them. But when Warham was advanced to the primacy, he changed his mind, and carried theſe encroachments farther than his predeceſſor cardinal Morton had done, and rejected all the propoſals of his ſuffragans for an accommodation [13]. This conteſt continued long, and was conducted with great violence and rancour; which is one proof, among many others, that the celibacy of the clergy did not diminiſh their love of money, or make them more indifferent about amaſſing wealth.

Diviſions among the regulars.

Diviſions and diſputes prevailed among the regular, as well as among the ſecular clergy of England in this period, particularly between the Franciſcans, or gray friars, and the Dominicans, or black friars, about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, maintained by the former, and denied by the latter. This queſtion was agitated ſeveral years with great warmth, and appeared to

[13] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 653—659.

be

be of ſuch importance, that it engaged the attention of the whole chriſtian world. At length, however, an end was put to this controverſy by a decree of the pope in favour of the Franciſcans; a new feſtival was inſtituted to commemorate the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin, and all who denied it were declared to be heretics[14]. Cent. XVI.

If the clergy at this time were at variance among themſelves, they were at ſtill greater variance with the laity about the immunities of the church; that is, of the clergy, and their exemption from the juriſdiction of the civil courts and civil magiſtrates. This had been a bone of contention between the clergy and laity for ſeveral centuries, and had ſometimes involved both in very great diſtreſs. This controverſy was revived and inflamed by an act of parliament, A. D. 1512, by which all who were accuſed of murder or robbery were to be tried in the civil courts, except biſhops, prieſts, and deacons; and if found guilty, were to be denied the benefit of clergy[15]. This act was exclaimed againſt by the great body of the clergy as a moſt impious invaſion of the immunities of the church, becauſe ſubdeacons, acolyths, exorciſts, &c. were thereby ſubjected to be tried for murder or robbery by laymen, and to be hanged if they were found guilty. The pulpits every where rung with declamations againſt this act; and the abbot of Winchelcomb, in a ſermon at Paul's croſs, declared, that all perſons, whether ſpiritual or temporal, who had aſſented to that infamous act, had incurred the cen- Diſputation.

[14] Fox, vol. ii. p. 732. [15] Statutes, 4 Henry VIII. cap. 2.

ſures

Cent. XVI.

ſures of the church. This zealous abbot alſo publiſhed a book, to prove that the perſons of clerks, in the lower as well as the higher orders, were ſacred, and that they could not be tried and puniſhed by the laity for any crimes [16]. The temporal lords, and the houſe of commons, exaſperated at this attempt of the clergy to emancipate themſelves from the reſtraints of law, and from puniſhment for the greateſt crimes, petitioned the king to repreſs their inſolence, and compel them to retract their opinion. The matter was debated before the king in council, the judges, and a numerous audience, both of the clergy and laity. The abbot of Winchelcomb was advocate for the immunities which the church and clergy claimed; and Dr. Standiſh, one of the king's ſpiritual council, pleaded againſt them. After a long debate, the audience in general being convinced that Dr. Standiſh had the better of the argument, requeſted the biſhops to command the abbot to recant his opinion. But this they poſitively refuſed; declaring, that it was their own opinion, and the doctrine of holy church [17].

Richard Hunne's affair.

When things were in this ſtate, an event happened that inflamed the animoſity between the clergy and the laity, eſpecially in London. One Richard Hunne, a reſpectable citizen, was ſued by the prieſt of his pariſh, in the legate's court, for a mortuary, which he pretended to be due to him for the burial of a child of his only five weeks old. Hunne, by the advice of his council, ſued the prieſt in the king's bench, in a premunire, for bringing

[16] Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. i. p. 12, 13. [17] Ibid. p. 13.

him

him before a foreign court. The clergy, to extricate the prieſt, accuſed Hunne of hereſy, and impriſoned him in the Lollard's Tower at St. Paul's, where he was found hanged December 4th, A. D. 1514. The clergy gave out that he had hanged himſelf. But this was not believed, and the coroner's inqueſt, after a careful examination of the body, the poſture in which it was found, and other circumſtances, brought in their verdict, wilful murder by thoſe who had the charge of the priſon. Many witneſſes were examined, whoſe evidence tended to criminate the biſhops, Sumner, and the bell-ringer, and Sumner afterwards confeſſed that the chancellor doctor Horſey, himſelf, and the bell-ringer, had firſt murdered Hunne, and then hung up his body againſt the wall [18]. Cent. XVI.

This affair made a prodigious noiſe in London, and excited violent outcries againſt the clergy, which were rendered more vehement by the method that was taken to ſilence them. Fitz-James, biſhop of London, and other prelates with whom he conſulted, imagined, that if Hunne was convicted of hereſy, the people would no longer eſpouſe his cauſe, or lament his fate. That biſhop, therefore, attended by the biſhops of Durham and Lincoln, twenty-five abbots, priors, and doctors, ſix notaries, and great multitudes of the ſecular and regular clergy held a court at St. Paul's, December 16th, for the trial of one who had been ten days in his grave. At that court Richard Hunne was accuſed of various hereſies contained in the preface Burnt for hereſy after his death.

[18] Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. i. p. 14. Fox, vol. ii. p. 739—744.

to

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to Wickliff's bible, which had been found in his houſe, and was eſteemed a ſufficient proof that he had held all theſe hereſies. Proclamation was made, that if any one chuſed to anſwer for the accuſed he ſhould appear immediately. No counſel choſe to plead the cauſe of ſuch a client before ſuch a court. Hunne was pronounced a heretic, his body was taken up December 20th, and burnt in Smithfield [19]. The people were ſhocked at this horrid ſpectacle, and greatly diſguſted with their ſpiritual guides.

His children reſtored.

The diſcontent excited by theſe acts of cruelty was not confined to the people of London. The parliament that met February 5th, A. D. 1515, reſtored the children of Richard Hunne to all their father's effects; and the houſe of commons ſent up a bill to the houſe of peers, April 3d, for bringing his murderers, particularly doctor Horſey, to juſtice. But the clergy were too numerous in that houſe for ſuch a bill to paſs. The biſhop of London made a violent declamation againſt it; in which he affirmed, that Hunne had hanged himſelf; that the coroner and his jury were perjured caitiffs; and that if the bill paſſed, the heretics would become ſo bold, that he would not be ſafe in his own houſe. The bill was thrown out after the firſt reading [20].

Dr. Standiſh queſtioned.

The clergy were greatly offended with doctor Standiſh, for his pleading againſt their immunities; and the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time

19 Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. i. p. 14. Fox, vol. ii. p. 739—744.
20 Ibid.

with

with the parliament, brought him before them, and threatened him with the ſevereſt cenſures. Expecting neither mercy nor juſtice from his enraged brethren, he implored the king to protect him from the danger he had incurred by acting in the capacity of his ſpiritual counſel. The clergy aſſured the king, that they did not intend to queſtion doctor Standiſh for any thing he had ſaid in the late conference, but for certain lectures at Paul's croſs; in which he had advanced many things contrary to the law of God and the liberties of holy church, which they were bound to maintain. On the other hand, the temporal lords, the judges, and the houſe of commons, petitioned the king to preſerve the undoubted rights of his crown, and his temporal juriſdiction over all his ſubjects, and to protect doctor Standiſh from the malice of his enemies [21]. Cent. XVI.

Theſe petitions threw the king into great perplexity. He had a great veneration for the church and clergy, but he was alſo fond of power, and tenacious of his rights. On this occaſion he conſulted doctor Veyſey, dean of his chapel, (of whoſe learning and probity he entertained a good opinion,) and charged him, upon his allegiance, to give him his real ſentiments on this important queſtion. Having taken ſome time to conſider, the doctor declared to the king, upon his faith and conſcience, that the trial of clerks by the ſecular judges, for crimes committed againſt the laws of the land, was neither contrary to the law of God, nor inconſiſtent Conferences and diſputes.

[21] Burnet. p. 15.

Cent. XVI. with the true liberties of the church. This opinion, and the arguments with which it was ſupported, gave Henry great ſatisfaction. Two very ſolemn conferences were held before him, and many of the prelates, lords, judges, and principal men, both of the clergy and laity, in which this queſtion was debated at great length, and with no little warmth, by doctor Standiſh and doctor Veyſey on one ſide, and the champions for the immunities of the church on the other. At the laſt of theſe conferences, when the greateſt part of the audience ſeemed ready to adopt the opinion of the two doctors, cardinal Wolſey fell upon his knees before the king, and moſt earneſtly intreated him to refer the matter in diſpute to the pope, to avoid his incurring the cenſures of the church. On which the king ſaid, that he thought doctor Standiſh and others of his council had anſwered all their arguments fully. The lord chief juſtice Fineux obſerved, that biſhops could not try clerks for capital offences; and if they were not amenable to the civil courts, they might commit the greateſt crimes with impunity. The king then, addreſſing himſelf to the clergy, ſaid, "Know you well, that "we will maintain the right of our crown and our "temporal juriſdiction, as well in this as in all "other points, in as ample manner as any of our "progenitors have done before our time." The archbiſhop of Canterbury, alarmed at this declaration, fell on his knees and begged that the final determination of this queſtion might be delayed till they had time to conſult the court of Rome. But

to this no anſwer was given; the king retired, and the conference ended [22]. Cent. XVI.

A warrant being iſſued for apprehending doctor Horſey, the biſhop of London's chancellor, in order to his being tried in the king's bench for the murder of Richard Hunne, he abſconded, and was concealed in the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth. At laſt, when this affair threatened very ſerious conſequences, it was terminated by a compromiſe, moſt probably ſuggeſted by the clergy. It was agreed, that the convocation ſhould drop all proceedings againſt doctor Standiſh; that doctor Horſey ſhould appear in the court of king's bench, and plead not guilty; and that the attorney-general ſhould acknowledge the truth of this plea, to prevent a trial. All this was accordingly done; and in thoſe days it was thought no ſmall triumph, that a great king had brought a clerk to the bar, though he did not, or durſt not, bring him to trial [23]. Compromiſe.

Though the clergy in this period were divided among themſelves, and at variance with the laity, there was one thing in which they agreed too well, and were too well ſeconded by the ſecular arm; the perſecution of the unhappy Lollards. The infernal ſpirit of perſecution, which had languiſhed in ſome degree in the preceding reign, raged with great violence in the firſt nineteen years of the preſent reign: for though Henry VIII. was tenacious of the rights of his crown, he had no regard to the rights of conſcience, and no mercy on thoſe who preſumed to judge for themſelves in matters of Perſecution.

[22] Burnet, from Keilwey's Reports. [23] Ibid.

Cent. XVI. religion, or to diſſent in the leaſt from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of belief and worſhip. To give a minute detail of all the horrid cruelties that were inflicted on thoſe who were condemned as heretics for reading the ſcriptures, for denying tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, the worſhip of images, the invocation of ſaints, the infallibility of the pope, or any other tenet of the church, would not only ſwell this ſection to a moſt inconvenient ſize, but would greatly diſtreſs every reader of feeling and humanity. It is ſufficient to remark, that all who were convicted of what was then called hereſy, both women and men, old and young, and adhered to their opinions, were condemned as obſtinate heretics, delivered to the ſecular arm, and burnt to aſhes, without mercy, and without exception. The number of thoſe unhappy victims was conſiderable, particularly in the dioceſe of Lincoln, under biſhop Langland, the king's confeſſor, and a moſt cruel perſecutor[24]. Thoſe who, through fear of the painful death with which they were threatened, abjured or renounced their opinions, (which were very many,) had various penances preſcribed to them, and various puniſhments inflicted upon them, of which ſome were very ſevere and ignominious[25]. Some of the Engliſh prelates at leaſt ſeem to have reſolved to extinguiſh hereſy, by the total extirpation of heretics. But in this they did not ſucceed. On the contrary, the more fiercely perſecution raged, the more hereſy and heretics increaſed; the

[24] Fox, p. 744—750. [25] Ibid. p. 450, &c.

greater

greater was the compaſſion of the people for the ſufferers, and their indignation againſt the perſecutors. Cent. XVI.

Henry writes againſt Luther.

Henry VIII. was not only a moſt dutiful ſon, but a moſt zealous champion of the church of Rome in the firſt half of his reign, and fought the battles of the pope, both by his ſword and by his pen. With this laſt inſtrument he took the field againſt Martin Luther, by his book, *de Septem Sacramentis*, of the Seven Sacraments. A ſplendid copy of this royal performance was preſented to the pope in full conſiſtory in October, A. D. 1521, by doctor John Clark, dean of Windſor, the king's ambaſſador at Rome, and received with great reſpect and ceremony. The pope aſſured the ambaſſador, that he would recommend the book to all Chriſtian princes, and publiſh it with as honourable a teſtimony from the holy ſee as ever was given to the works of St. Auſtin and St. Jerome; and that he would immediately adorn the king with ſome honourable title, as a reward for his religious zeal and learned labours. Accordingly his holineſs, by a bull, in the ſame month beſtowed on Henry the title of Defender of the Faith; and in the ſame bull he extolled his book, as a moſt wonderful performance, ſprinkled with the dew of divine grace; and returned immenſe thanks to Almighty God, who had been graciouſly pleaſed to inſpire his majeſty's excellent mind, always inclined to that which was good, with ſo much grace from Heaven[26]. Henry was now the greateſt favourite of

[26] Collier, Records, vol. ii. No. iv.

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the court of Rome; and if he had died at this time, would probably have been canonized.

Luther replies.

Few authors have had the pleaſure of receiving ſuch extravagant praiſes for their works, as Henry received for this performance. But neither the luſtre of his crown, nor the acclamations of his admirers, intimidated his antagoniſt. Luther, irritated at ſome contemptuous expreſſions that the king had uſed, publiſhed an anſwer to his book; in which he treated him with unbecoming aſperity, or rather ſcurrility, of which he afterwards repented. Of this it will be ſufficient to give one example. "If he had erred like other men, he might have "been forgiven; but when he knowingly and "wittingly invents lies againſt the majeſty of my "King in heaven, I have a right to beſpatter his "Engliſh majeſty with mire, and to trample the "crown of this blaſphemer againſt Chriſt under "my feet[27]. When Luther's paſſion ſubſided, he became ſenſible of the error he had committed, and wrote a long letter of apology, dated September 1ſt, A. D. 1525; in which he moſt earneſtly implored forgiveneſs for the intemperate language of his book, to which, he ſays, he had been excited by his majeſty's enemies, and not by his own inclination[28]. But the king was not to be appeaſed. To expoſe Luther he publiſhed his letter, and an anſwer to it, "To ſhew the world that he was not "ſo weak as to be enſnared by the flattery of a "little fooliſh friar, nor ſo fickle as to retract

[27] Collier, Records, vol. ii. No. iii. [28] Ibid. No. 5.

"What

"what he had written, and what he knew to be "right [29]." Cent. XVI.

This controverſy between the king and Luther, and the title of defender of the faith, which he had received from the pope, of which he was exceedingly vain, inflamed his zeal for the church of Rome, and his hatred of the reformers in Germany, and of thoſe who inclined to their opinions in England. Luther had alſo irritated his great favourite, cardinal Wolſey, by calling him, in his apologetical letter to the king, "that plague of "your kingdom, that monſter, hated by God and "man, the cardinal of York." Luther's perſon being out of the reach both of the king and cardinal, who were equally incenſed againſt him, they ſpent their reſentment upon his works, and on thoſe who read them. The cardinal, by virtue of his legantine commiſſion, ſent a mandate to all the biſhops, abbots, and priors, in England, enjoining them to cauſe an order to be read in all the churches under their juriſdiction in the time of divine ſervice, commanding all perſons, both of the clergy and laity, who had any books written by that peſtilent heretic, Martin Luther, to deliver them to their ordinary within fifteen days, under the pain of being reputed and puniſhed as heretics. With this mandate he ſent a paper to be affixed to the door of every church, containing forty-two propoſitions, extracted from the works of Luther, which had been condemned by the pope as damnable

Luther's books prohibited.

[29] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 59.

Cent. XVI. hereſies [30]. But all theſe precautions did not prevent the importation of Luther's works, or their being tranſlated into Engliſh, but rather increaſed the curioſity of the people to be acquainted with them.

Convocations. A miſunderſtanding had prevailed for ſome time between cardinal Wolſey and Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury. The cardinal, by his legantine power, his place of chancellor, his immenſe revenues, and his high favour with the king, quite eclipſed the archbiſhop, by drawing almoſt all cauſes into his courts, and diſpoſing of almoſt all preferments, both in church and ſtate. But great as his power was, he ſometimes ſtretched it too far. Archbiſhop Warham had ſummoned a convocation of the prelates and clergy of his province to meet at St. Paul's April 20th, A.D. 1523, and the cardinal had ſummoned a convocation of his province of York to meet at Weſtminſter, at the ſame time. But as ſoon as the convocation of Canterbury met, and were about to proceed to buſineſs, the cardinal ſummoned them to attend him April 22d, in a legantine council at Weſtminſter. This extraordinary ſtep gave great offence to the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury. They obeyed the ſummons; but when they came to treat of buſineſs, the proctors for the clergy obſerved, that their commiſſions gave them no authority to treat or vote but in convocation. This objection proved unanſwerable, and the cardinal, to his great mortification, was obliged to diſmiſs

[30] Strype, p. 37—40. Records, No. ix.

his

his legantine council. The convocation of Canterbury returned to St. Paul's, and granted the king one half of all their benefices for one year, to be paid in five years. The reaſons they aſſigned for granting this extraordinary ſubſidy were theſe; "That their moſt pious king had prevented a "ſchiſm in the papacy; that by a great army, and "a moſt expenſive war, he had preſerved Italy and "Rome from being conquered by the French; "and that he had lately defeated and confounded "all the Lutheran heretics, raging like madmen "againſt the church and ſacraments, by his moſt "learned book, which it is impoſſible to praiſe "ſufficiently [31]." The convocation of the province of York ſat at the ſame time at Weſtminſter, and granted the king the ſame ſubſidy [32]. Cent. XVI.

Though cardinal Wolſey had been conſtrained to diſmiſs his legantine or national council, on account of the irregular manner in which it had been called, he was determined to hold ſuch a council, and to ſhine at the head of all the clergy of England. He therefore ſummoned all the prelates, both of the regulars and ſeculars, and the repreſentatives of the inferior clergy, to appear before him June 2d at Weſtminſter. The pretence for calling this council was to reform the manners of the clergy, which the cardinal ſaid had been recommended to him by the pope; and in doing it he declared he was determined to employ all the power and wiſdom that God had given him [33]. What was done in this council for the reformation National council.

[31] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 699. [32] Ibid. p. 698. [33] Ibid.

of

Cent. XVI. of the clergy we are not informed; but there is ſufficient evidence that no remarkable reformation took place at this time, and that the cardinal, who appeared ſo zealous for reforming others, had not the wiſdom to reform himſelf. The truth is, that a vicious corrupt clergy, though they might talk and flouriſh about reformation and purity of manners in their ſynods and councils, are not likely to be either very zealous or very ſucceſsful in promoting the real reformation of themſelves or others.

Perſecutions. There was one vice, indeed, which the clergy moſt zealouſly endeavoured to extirpate. This was what they called the damnable vice of hereſy; which conſiſted in reading the New Teſtament in Engliſh, the works of Wickliff and Luther, and of others of that learning, in denying the infallibility of the pope, tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, praying to ſaints, worſhipping images, &c. &c. Notwithſtanding the cruel puniſhments that had been inflicted on thoſe who entertained theſe opinions, their number was ſtill conſiderable; particularly in London, and in Colcheſter, and other parts of Eſſex. They called themſelves *the Brethren in Chriſt*, and met together with great ſecrecy in one another's houſes, to read the New Teſtament and other books, and to converſe on religious ſubjects. Many of them were apprehended and brought before Cuthbert Tunſtal biſhop of London, and doctor Wharton his chancellor. But biſhop Tunſtal being a prelate of uncommon learning and eloquence, and of great humanity, he generally prevailed upon them to renounce, or rather to diſſemble, their opinions, by which they eſcaped a painful

ful death, but incurred the painful reproaches of their own minds [34]. This perſecution was conducted with much greater ſeverity in the dioceſes of Lincoln and Coventry [35]. Cent. XVI.

Cardinal Wolſey was now, A. D. 1527, in the zenith of his power and greatneſs. The pope being detained in priſon by the emperor, conſtituted Wolſey his vicar-general; inveſting him with all the power of the papacy. Having thus obtained the power, though not the name, of pope, he ruled the church with the moſt deſpotic ſway, and encroached on the moſt undiſputed rights of the other biſhops, as well as of the laity. Among other encroachments, he eſtabliſhed a court in his own houſe, called York-houſe, for all teſtamentary matters, which almoſt annihilated both the buſineſs and emoluments of the prerogative court of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Againſt this innovation the archbiſhop remonſtrated again and again, in very ſtrong but decent and reſpectful terms. But to theſe remonſtrances the haughty vicar-general paid no regard, till he received a meſſage from the king, of whom alone he ſtood in ſome awe [36]. Wolſey's greatneſs.

Such were the principal tranſactions, and ſuch the ſtate of the church of England, in the firſt nineteen years of the reign of Henry VIII. In that period the king was the moſt zealous champion of the court and church of Rome, and fought the battles of four ſucceſſive popes by his ſword, his purſe, and his pen. In conſequence of this, he was the greateſt favourite of the court of Rome, loaded with the moſt extravagant praiſes, adorned with the title of Great changes.

34 Strype, b. i. ch. 7, 8. 35 Fox, p. 896, &c. 36 Strype, b. i. ch. 6.

defender

Cent. XVI. defender of the faith, and honoured with the precious preſents of conſecrated ſwords, capes, and roſes. But the laſt nineteen years of this reign preſent us with a very different ſtate of things. In that period the king broke off all ſubjection to, and connection with, the pope, and court of Rome; became their moſt violent enemy, and laboured to induce other princes to ſhake off their yoke. He aſſumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England; was acknowledged ſuch by his parliament, by the clergy, by almoſt all his ſubjects, and perſecuted thoſe to death who refuſed to acknowledge his ſupremacy and renounce the pope. By this conduct he cancelled all his former merits with the pope, the cardinals, and all the zealous ſons of the church of Rome, who loaded him with curſes inſtead of praiſes, and repreſented him as worſe than Judas, Caiphas, or Pilate, and the greateſt enemy to God and holy church that had ever appeared. At laſt his holineſs thundered out againſt him the dreadful ſentence of excommunication; gave him to the devil, abſolved his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded them to depoſe him. He enjoined all Chriſtain princes to declare war againſt him, and to ſeize all his dominions and every thing that belonged to him, to which he gave them a right[37]. Theſe great and ſurpriſing changes were not brought about at once, but by various ſteps, which we ſhall now endeavour to trace.

Inſtability of the church. Though the authority of the pope, and the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome, ſeemed to

37 Strype, b. i. ch. 43. Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 792.

be

be firmly eſtabliſhed in England in the firſt part of this reign, the foundations on which they reſted were in ſome degree undermined, and the fabric was not ſo firm as it appeared. The revival of learning, and the invention of the art of printing, made books more attainable, and ſome degree of knowledge more general, than they had been in former times. This alſo gave an opportunity to perſons of different opinions to communicate their ſentiments to the public. A great number of ſmall books againſt the authority of the pope, tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, images, pardons, pilgrimages, &c. were publiſhed in England, and many of Luther's works were imported and tranſlated. All theſe were circulated with great ſecrecy, and peruſed with great avidity by the people; which rendered great multitudes of them ſecretly diſaffected to the church. The clergy were very ſenſible of their danger from this quarter, and exerted all their power to prevent the circulation of theſe books, eſpecially of the New Teſtament in Engliſh, which they repreſented as perfect poiſon to the ſouls of Chriſtians. But all their efforts were ineffectual. The nobility and principal gentlemen hated the clergy, on account of their exorbitant power and riches, their pomp and pride, their rapacity, luxury, and other vices, and the laity in general wiſhed to ſee them humbled. In a word, the zealous attachment and great power of the king ſeem to have been the chief ſupport of the papal power and popiſh church in England at this time; and when theſe ſupports were withdrawn, the ponderous fabric

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Cent. XVI. fabric could no longer ſtand. How theſe ſupports came to be withdrawn is now to be narrated.

Henry's doubts about his marriage.

Henry VIII. lived in great conjugal harmony with his queen Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, about eighteen years. When he firſt began to entertain doubts of the legality of his marriage cannot be aſcertained: but it was not till A. D. 1527 that he began to diſcloſe theſe doubts to his confeſſor Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, to his favourite cardinal Wolſey, and to ſome others. Having ſtudied this queſtion with great attention, and conſulted many of the moſt learned men in his dominions, he came to be fully convinced that his marriage was inceſtuous, and contrary to the laws of God and nature; and that the pope could not diſpenſe with theſe laws. This conviction, and perhaps ſome other conſiderations, made him ardently deſirous of obtaining a divorce, that he might be at liberty to contract a more unexceptionable marriage; and he reſolved to apply to the pope for that purpoſe.

Hiſtory of the divorce already related.

From the time that Henry applied to the court of Rome (A. D. 1526) for a divorce, that affair influenced all his councils and negotiations, and directed all his civil and political tranſactions for ſeveral years. It was impoſſible, therefore, to give a clear, diſtinct, intelligible account of theſe tranſactions, without relating his negotiations at the court of Rome for obtaining that divorce, the delays, artifices, and double-dealing of that court, which at length provoked him to withdraw his obedience to the pope, and aſſume the ſupremacy in

in his own dominions, which made way for the many important changes that followed in the church and ſtate of England. For theſe reaſons, the hiſtory of the king's divorce from queen Catherine, and of its immediate conſequences, hath been already given in the ſecond ſection of the firſt chapter of this book, to which the reader is referred. We ſhall now proceed to relate ſuch tranſactions as were purely eccleſiaſtical, and that ſeem to merit a place in hiſtory. Cent. XVI.

While Henry was negotiating his divorce at the court of Rome, he encouraged his prelates and clergy to perſecute all heretics without mercy; and iſſued a proclamation, commanding his chancellor, the judges of both benches, the juſtices of the peace, and all other civil officers and magiſtrates, to aſſiſt the biſhops in extirpating all hereſies and heretics[38]. Thus inſtigated and ſupported, ſome of the Engliſh prelates were exceedingly zealous and active in the cruel buſineſs of perſecution. Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur of Cambridge were men of learning; and having imbibed the principles of Luther and the other reformers of Germany, they propagated theſe principles in the univerſity and other places, with ability and ſucceſs, by their writings, their preaching, and their converſation. They were both apprehended and impriſoned A.D. 1527; and after ſuffering a long impriſonement and many hardſhips, they were prevailed upon by the importunity of their friends, and the dread of a painful death, to abjure their opi- Perſecutions.

[38] Fox, p. 930.

nions.

Cent. XVI. nions. But Bilney was ſoon after ſeized with the moſt excruciating remorſe for his hypocriſy, and could enjoy no peace of mind till he returned to the profeſſion of his real principles. He was again impriſoned, and ſoon after burnt at Norwich as a relapſed heretic, and endured the flames with great compoſure and fortitude[39]. About the ſame time (1530) Thomas Hilton, a prieſt, after a long and ſevere impriſonment, was burnt at Maidſtone[40]. Doctor John Stokeſley, biſhop of London, was a more cruel perſecutor than any of the other Engliſh prelates of this time. By him Richard Bayfield, a prieſt and monk of St. Edmondſbury, was tried and convicted of hereſy, for importing, reading, and circulating, a great number of books written by Luther, Occolumpadius, Zuinglius, and others of that damnable ſect. When the ſentence was ready to be paſſed, the biſhop ſent a letter to the mayor and ſheriffs of London, requiring them, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, to be preſent at paſſing the ſentence, and to take the priſoner into their cuſtody, and burn him to aſhes[41]." Soon after this, James Bainham, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, eminent for piety, virtue, and learning, was apprehended by an order of the chancellor ſir Thomas More, and conducted to his houſe at Chelſea, where he treated him for ſome time with great kindneſs, and endeavoured to perſuade him to renounce his opinions. But finding all his efforts ineffectual, he commanded him to be tied to a tree in his garden, called the Tree of Truth, and whip-

[39] Fox, p. 910—924. [40] Ibid. p. 910. [41] Ibid. p. 933.

ped him with his own hand. He then committed him to the Tower, and put him to the rack, to extort from him the names of his friends in the Temple, who entertained the ſame opinions. All his goods were confiſcated, and his wife was committed to priſon, becauſe ſhe would not diſcover where her huſband's books were concealed. Bainham bore all theſe ſufferings with fortitude, without betraying his friends, or abandoning his principles; and the chancellor, deſpairing of making any impreſſion upon him, ſent him to biſhop Stokeſley to be tried for hereſy. He was accordingly tried before the biſhop December 25th, A.D. 1531, in ſir Thomas More's houſe at Chelſea, and returned ſuch pointed anſwers, moſtly in ſcripture language, to a great number of interrogatories, as diſcover him to have been a man of learning, good ſenſe, and great integrity. He was found guilty of hereſy; and the biſhop and chancellor having aſſailed him with earneſt intreaties and perſuaſions, to ſave himſelf from an exquiſitely painful death, before the irrevocable ſentence was pronounced, his courage failed him, and, with great anguiſh and agitation of mind, he ſubſcribed his abjuration. But he ſoon and bitterly repented of what he had done, and wrote a letter to the biſhop, expreſſing his ſorrow for his abjuration, on which he was apprehended and condemned as a relapſed heretic. and burnt in Smithfield[42]. Several other perſons, in different parts of England at this time, ſhared Cent. XVI.

[42] Fox, p. 937—939.

Cent. XVI. the ſame fate, and were committed to the flames for hereſy.

Cardinal Wolſey ſelected from both univerſities ſeveral perſons who were moſt eminent for genius and learning, to adorn the new and magnificent college he founded at Oxford; and among others, he made choice of John Frith of Cambridge. But it was ſoon diſcovered that Frith and ſeveral others of this ſelect ſociety were infected with hereſy, and they were caſt into priſon and very harſhly treated. The cardinal, who, to his honour, was averſe to perſecution, being informed of this, commanded them to be ſet at liberty, thinking they had ſuffered ſufficiently for their imprudence in diſcovering their opinions. Soon after Frith recovered his liberty, he went to the continent, where he remained about two years, and then returned to England. His return was not long a ſecret, and ſo much diligence was uſed by ſir Thomas More and biſhop Stokeſley in ſearching for him, that he was at laſt diſcovered and apprehended, and committed to the Tower. When he was in the Tower he was engaged in a controverſy with ſir Thomas More on tranſubſtantiation, contending that the belief of that doctrine was not neceſſary to ſalvation, which ſir Thomas aſſerted. He had alſo a diſpute with the chancellor and his ſon-in-law Mr. Raſtall and Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, on purgatory. He was drawn into both theſe controverſies much againſt his will, and managed them with great modeſty, as well as learning. But his antagoniſts had a more effectual way of ſilencing him than by their writings.

writings. They brought him to trial for hereſy, and pronounced him guilty, becauſe he denied that the belief of tranſubſtantiation and purgatory was neceſſary to ſalvation. For that crime, this amiable, virtuous, and learned man, (for ſuch he appears to have been,) was burnt in Smithfield July 4th, A.D. 1533; and in his company one Andrew Hewel, a young man who had been inſtructed by him, and ſeemed ambitious to ſhare his ſufferings [43]. Though Mr. Frith behaved with the moſt undaunted firmneſs after he was apprehended, he had neglected no means of eſcaping from his purſuers, and had ſuffered great hardſhips for ſeveral months in wandering about under different diſguiſes, in hopes of getting beyond ſeas. But the ports were ſo ſtrictly guarded, that he could not eſcape. Cent. XVI.

So ardent was the zeal of ſome of the Engliſh prelates at this time againſt what they call hereſy, that they not only wrecked their vengeance on the living, but on the aſhes of dead heretics, by committing them to the flames. William Tracee, a gentleman in Glouceſterſhire, in his laſt will, declared, that he did not think it neceſſary to pray to ſaints, or to celebrate maſſes for the ſouls of the dead, and therefore he left no money for that purpoſe. When this teſtament was produced in court to be proved, it was challenged as heretical, and carried to archbiſhop Warham. Tracee was tried and found guilty of hereſy A.D. 1532, and a ſentence was pronounced, that his body ſhould be Tracee's teſtament.

[43] Fox, p. 941—946.

Cent. XVI. taken out of the grave and burnt. The execution of this ſentence was committed to doctor Parker, chancellor of Worceſter, by whom it was executed. Though Henry was ſufficiently fierce againſt hereſy and heretics, he was ſhocked at this tranſaction when it came to his knowledge. Doctor Parker was queſtioned for burning Tracee's body without a writ *de heretico comburendo*, (which he did not think neceſſary in burning a dead heretic,) and compounded for his delinquency by paying 300l. to the king [44].

Many abjured. Beſides thoſe above-mentioned, a great multitude of men and women in different parts of England were cruelly perſecuted at this time for denying tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, the worſhip of images, praying to ſaints, and other peculiar tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome. But the far greateſt part of theſe ſufferers, after enduring impriſonment and other hardſhips, were prevailed upon, by the importunity of their friends and the fear of death, outwardly to renounce opinions which they inwardly believed, and to become hypocrites rather than martyrs. Enough hath been ſaid on this unpleaſant ſubject at preſent, to ſhew the cruel intolerant ſpirit of the king and clergy of England, immediately before their ſeparation from the church of Rome; and to preſerve the memory of thoſe good, pious, and brave men, who preferred death to diſſimulation, and reſigned their lives rather than their principles, which they thereby more

[44] Fox, p. 951.

effectually

effectually recommended, than they could have done by any other means. Cent. XVI.

When the patience of Henry VIII. was worn out by the dilatory deluſive conduct of the court of Rome, and he almoſt deſpaired of obtaining what he thought juſtice from that court, in the affair of his divorce, the ardour of his attachment to Rome began to abate: he could then bear to hear that the power of the pope was not unlimited; that he could not diſpenſe with the laws of God; and even that the authority which the biſhops of Rome had ſo long exerciſed over the univerſal church, was an uſurped authority, from which he at length determined to emancipate himſelf and his ſubjects. This he knew would ſave them no little labour and a great deal of money, and would bring a great acceſſion both of power and revenue to the crown. He was aware that he would meet with great oppoſition in the execution of this deſign, and that the court of Rome would move heaven and earth to raiſe him up enemies, both at home and abroad. He reſolved therefore to proceed with caution, and to carry the parliament, the convocation, and his other ſubjects, along with him in every ſtep. Henry reſolves to break with the pope.

So early as A. D. 1529 Henry threw out a threatening, that if the pope did not do him juſtice without delay, he would withdraw himſelf and his ſubjects from all obedience to him, and connexion with him. This threatening was not, perhaps, ſincere; it is certain it was not believed. The pope and cardinals could not imagine that the great champion of the church, who had been ſo proud Parliament.

Cent. XVI. of the honours he had received for fighting their battles with his ſword, his purſe, and his pen, would ever forſake them: it had therefore no effect; and Henry, meeting with freſh delays and diſappointments, reſolved to execute, or at leaſt to ſhew the pope that he could execute, what he had threatened. The parliament that met for the firſt time November 5th, A. D. 1529, proved very complying with the king's views, and was therefore continued about ſix years by various prorogations; and in its ſeveral ſeſſions made great changes in the ſtate of the church of England. In the very firſt ſeſſion, the houſe of commons diſcovered not a little diſſatisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, particularly with the exorbitant exactions of the ſpiritual court in the probates of wills, and of the pariſh prieſts in mortuaries; and laws were made for regulating and reſtraining theſe exactions[45]. When theſe bills were paſſing the houſe of commons, ſome of the members ſpoke with great warmth againſt the extortions of the ſpiritual courts, and others painted the cruelty of incumbents in demanding mortuaries in very ſtrong colours[46]. In a word, the clergy of England, immediately before the reformation, and at the opening of this parliament, were in very diſagreeable circumſtances; they were not only hated by all who ſecretly wiſhed for a reformation, for the cruelty with which they perſecuted thoſe whom they denominated heretics; but they were envied and diſliked, on ſeveral ac-

[45] Statutes, 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 5, 6.

[46] Wilkins. tom. iii. p. 739.

counts,

counts, by the generality of the laity of all ranks; and they were alſo in a præmunire, and at the king's mercy, which made them more tractable, and more feeble in their oppoſition to the great changes that ſoon after followed, than they would have been in better circumſtances. Cent. XVI.

In the next ſeſſion of this parliament, which commenced July 30th, A. D. 1530, a bolder ſtep was taken. The houſe of lords wrote a very ſpirited letter to the pope, accuſing him, in very plain terms, of ingratitude and injuſtice in delaying and declining to grant their ſovereign the divorce which he ſolicited, which had been pronounced juſt and neceſſary by the moſt famous univerſities and moſt learned men in Europe. In concluſion, they declared, that if his holineſs refuſed or delayed to grant their juſt requeſt, they would ſeek and find relief ſome other way[47]. This famous letter was ſubſcribed by twenty-eight ſpiritual and forty-two temporal lords. It was evidently intended to alarm the pope, by ſhewing him, that if the king was provoked by further delays to withdraw his obedience to the ſee of Rome, he would not be deſerted by his ſubjects, nor even by his clergy. But it did not produce the deſired effect. His holineſs returned a ſmooth and artful anſwer, (September 27th, A. D. 1530,) in which he beſtowed the higheſt commendations upon the king, expreſſed his own gratitude for his many great ſervices, and his earneſt deſire to oblige him as far as he could with juſtice, in the ſtrongeſt terms. But

[47] Herbert, p. 141.

Cent. XVI. that when the queen ſuſpected the two cardinals appointed to try the cauſe in England of partiality, and appealed to the apoſtolical tribunal, he could not refuſe to admit her appeal without injuſtice. That all the ſubſequent delays had been owing to the king himſelf, who refuſed to ſend a proctor to Rome to plead his cauſe. He concluded with ſaying, "As for what you mention in the end of "your letter, that unleſs we grant your requeſt "herein, you ſhall imagine that the care of your-"ſelves is remitted into your own hands, and that "you are left at liberty to ſeek remedy herein elſe-"where: this is a reſolution neither worthy of "your prudence, nor becoming your chriſtianity; "and we therefore, of our fatherly love, exhort "you to abſtain from any ſuch raſh attempt[48]."

The king ſupreme head of the church.

The king now almoſt deſpaired of obtaining a divorce by a ſentence of the pope, and therefore he brought that affair before his parliament in its next ſeſſion, March 30th, A. D. 1531, as hath been already related. He laid the ſame buſineſs alſo at the ſame time before the convocation, and produced the opinions of ſo many univerſities and learned men againſt the legality of his marriage, as convinced a great majority of both the upper and lower houſe, that the marriage was contrary to the laws of God and nature, and that the pope could not diſpenſe with theſe laws. The king being now confident of the concurrence both of the parliament and convocation in any ſteps he ſhould find it neceſſary to take againſt the pope, he boldly aſſumed

[48] Herbert, p. 145.

the

the title of ſupreme head of the church of England. This title appeared for the firſt time in the petition of the convocation of the province of Canterbury to the king, for relief from the penalties of their præmunire, by a pardon. It did not paſs in the convocation without oppoſition; but being aſſured by Thomas Cromwell, and ſome others of the privy council, that their petitions would be rejected if they gave not the king that title, the oppoſers ſilently acquieſced. Both the clergy and the laity in the north were more bigotted than thoſe in the ſouth; and the giving the king this title met with more oppoſition in the convocation of York than of Canterbury; but as they found that they could not obtain their pardon on any other terms, they at length ſubmitted [49]. Only Culbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, proteſted againſt that title [50]. Cent. XVI.

This was not deſigned to be an inſignificant empty title, but was intended to convey to the king, in his own dominions, all the powers and revenues which the popes had long poſſeſſed in England. To convince the court of Rome that this was his intention, and that he could accompliſh it, the next ſeſſion of parliament, A. D. 1532, tranſferred one conſiderable branch of revenue, the annats or firſt fruits from the pope to the king [51]. This was a ſevere blow, as theſe annats amounted to no ſmall ſum, and as it was a prelude to ſimilar transfers of other branches of the papal revenues. This proceeding was very diſagreeable to many of Annats given to the king.

[49] Burnet, p. 112. [50] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 745.
[51] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 117.

Cent. XVI. the Engliſh clergy, as they ſaw its tendency to a breach with Rome, and to ſubject them in all things to their own ſovereign, and the laws of their country, in common with the laity. Archbiſhop Warham, finding that the torrent began to run ſtrong againſt the pope and church, particularly in the houſe of commons, proteſted in the hands of a notary public before three witneſſes February 24th, 1532, in his palace of Lambeth, againſt all the laws that had been made, or that ſhould thereafter be made, by the preſent parliament, in derogation of the authority of the pope, or the rights and immunities of the church [52]. The deſign of this private proteſt againſt thoſe laws to which he had given his conſent in public, is not very obvious.

The commons complain of the clergy.

The houſe of commons in this ſeſſion preſented a petition to the king againſt the clergy, complaining that they haraſſed the laity by vexatious proſecutions in their ſpiritual courts; and that they made and executed laws and canons without the royal aſſent; and that ſome of theſe canons were contrary to the laws of the land. The king tranſmitted this complaint of the commons to the convocation that was then ſitting, and commanded them to return an anſwer. In their anſwer (which is written with uncommon art) they affirm, that they exerciſed their ſpiritual juriſdiction with the greateſt lenity, except "upon certain evil-diſpoſed "perſons, infected and utterly corrupt with the "peſtilent poiſon of hereſy, and to have had peace "with ſuch, it had been againſt the goſpel of our

[52] Wilkin, p. 746.

"Saviour

" Saviour Chriſt, wherein he ſaith, *non veni mittere* Cent. XVI.
" *pacem, ſed gladium.*" In their anſwer to the ſecond article of complaint, they aſſert roundly, " We repute and take our authority of making " laws to be grounded upon the ſcripture of God, " and determination of holy church." They add, that as they derived their authority to make laws from God, " We may not ſubmit the execution of " our charge and duty, certainly preſcribed by " God, to your highneſs's aſſent, although in very " deed the ſame be moſt worthy." With reſpect to the inconſiſtency which the commons pretended was between the laws of the land, and the canons of the church, they obſerved, that as the canons were made by the authority, and were perfectly agreeable to the will of God, it would be proper for his grace and the parliament to change their laws, and bring them to a perfect conformity to thoſe of the church. This was a ſtrain rather too bold for the times, as they ſoon after found [53].

The king was far from being pleaſed with this anſwer, and ſoon brought the clergy to lower their tone. He ſent them two propoſitions, to which he demanded their aſſent: " 1. That no conſtitution " or ordinance ſhall be hereafter by the clergy " enacted, promulgated, or put in execution, un- " leſs the king's highneſs do approve the ſame by " his high authority and royal aſſent. 2. That " whereas divers of the conſtitutions provincial, " which have been heretofore enacted, be thought " not only much prejudicial to the king's prero- Convocation.

[53] Wilkin, p. 750.

" gative,

Cent. XVI. "gative, but alſo much onerous to his highneſs's "ſubjects, it be committed to the examination and "judgment of thirty-two perſons; whereof ſixteen "to be of the upper and lower houſe of the temporality, and other ſixteen of the clergy; all to "be appointed by the king's highneſs: ſo that, "finally, whichſoever of the ſaid conſtitutions ſhall "be thought and determined by the moſt part of "the ſaid thirty-two perſons worthy to be abrogate "and annulled, the ſame to be afterwards taken "away, and to be of no force or ſtrength." Nothing could be more diſagreeable to the generality of the clergy than theſe two propoſitions, which tended to deprive them of the independent power of making and executing laws, which they pretended they had received from God, and to ſubject the ſacred canons of the church to be examined and repealed by laymen. The convocation held ſeveral meetings on this ſubject, and propoſed various emendations: in particular, they propoſed to ſubmit all their canons to the examination of the king alone: "Having (ſay they) eſpecial truſt and con"fidence in your moſt high and excellent wiſdom, "your princely goodneſs, and fervent zeal to the "promotion of God's honour and the chriſtian "religion, and eſpecially your incomparable learn"ing, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learn"ing of all other kings and princes that we have "read of." But all this flattery was ineffectual. No alteration of the propoſitions would be admitted, and they were at laſt (May 16th, A. D. 1532) obliged to give their aſſent to the propoſitions as they

they ſtood. But before they did this, they gave in a paper to the king, in which they declared, that they gave their aſſent to theſe propoſitions only in conſideration of his high wiſdom, great learning, and infinite goodneſs to them and the church; and aſſerted in the ſtrongeſt terms, their divine right to make and execute laws without the royal aſſent, "which (add they) your highneſs yourſelf, in your "own book, moſt excellently written againſt Mar-"tin Luther, doth not only acknowledge and con-"feſs, but alſo with moſt vehement and inexpug-"nable reaſons and authorities doth defend, which "we reckon that of your honour you cannot, nor "of your goodneſs you will not, revoke." This was a ſevere ſtroke, which was probably remembered to their diſadvantage[54]. Cent. XVI.

Archbiſhop Warham did not long ſurvive this mortifying tranſaction. He died in the month of Auguſt, A.D. 1532. He was a man of learning, and poſſeſſed uncommon prudence and command of temper, which he had frequent opportunities of exerciſing. In the former part of his pontificate he was eclipſed and controlled by the overpowering influence of cardinal Wolſey, who, by his favour with the king, and his legantine commiſſion from the pope, ingroſſed almoſt all power, both in church and ſtate; and in the laſt part of it, he was much diſquieted by the miſunderſtanding between the king and the pope, by the attacks of the laity upon the church and clergy, and by the increaſe of thoſe opinions which he eſteemed heretical. His Death of archbiſhop Warham.

[54] Wilkin, p. 748—755.

ſeverity

Cent. XVI. severity in the proſecution of heretics was the greateſt blemiſh in his character; but it ſhould be conſidered, that in thoſe times mercy to thoſe who diſſented from the church was conſidered as one of the greateſt crimes in a prelate, and perſecuting them to death as one of the greateſt virtues; ſo ſtrangely were the minds of men perverted by bigotry and ſuperſtition.

Doctor Cranmer primate

Henry having for ſome time entertained a very high opinion of the learning, prudence, and integrity of doctor Thomas Cranmer, reſolved to raiſe him to the primacy, and with that view recalled him from his embaſſy at the imperial court. Cranmer, who was neither covetous nor ambitious, was far from being delighted with the proſpect of this great promotion; on the contrary, foreſeeing the difficulties and dangers with which it would be attended, he declined it with much earneſtneſs and ſincerity. But the king was poſitive; and he complied, in hopes of promoting a reformation in the church, of which he was ſenſible of the neceſſity [55].

conſecrated.

A difficulty ſoon occurred. Doctor Cranmer had ſtrong ſcruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope, both becauſe he thought it inconſiſtent with the oath he was to take to the king, and becauſe he apprehended that it would reſtrain him from promoting that reformation in the church which he intended; and for theſe ſcruples it is certain there was ſome ground. But as the king at this time entertained hopes of a reconciliation with the court of Rome, which he

[55] Strype's Life of Cranmer, ch. 4.

ſtill

ſtill deſired; and as the pope had approved of the election of doctor Cranmer, and had ſent over all the bulls for his conſecration; it was thought neceſſary not to omit the oath which theſe bulls required. This queſtion was at length referred to certain canoniſts and caſuiſts, who propoſed the following ſalvo, that the primate elect, before he took the oath to the pope, ſhould make a formal proteſtation: "That he did not intend, by taking "that oath, to reſtrain himſelf from doing what he "thought to be his duty to God, to his king, and "his country." This ſalvo, though liable to great objections, was adopted. He made the propoſed proteſtation before he took the oath of canonical obedience, and was conſecrated March 13th, A. D. 1533, by the biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph [56]. As both the parliament and convocation were then ſitting, the new primate was immediately engaged in very important tranſactions, which have been already related, viz. the diſſolution of the king's marriage with the firſt queen Catherine of Spain, and the confirmation of his marriage with his ſecond queen Anne Boleyn [57]. Cent. XVI.

Several efforts were made by Henry A. D. 1533, aided by his ally the king of France, to prevail upon the pope to diſſolve the marriage between him and queen Catherine, to prevent a total rupture between Rome and England, and to pave the way for a reconciliation. But all theſe efforts were unſucceſsful, and a raſh ſentence pronounced by the pope (under the influence, it is ſaid, of paſſion) in Breach between Rome and England.

[56] Burnet, p. 128. [57] See chap. i. ſect. ii.

a full

Cent. XVI. a full consistory March 23d, A.D. 1534, confirming the marriage between Henry and Catherine, and declaring it lawful, brought that tedious and perplexing affair to a crisis, and produced a total breach between the court and church of Rome and the court and church of England [58]: one of the most important and propitious events in the history of Great Britain.

Acts of parliament. The breach being now made became daily wider and wider: mutual injuries were multiplied; and the English parliament made several acts, and the convocation several canons, which rendered a reconciliation almost impossible. The act that had been made in a former session of this parliament against the payment of first fruits to the pope was confirmed, and many new clauses added concerning the election and consecration of prelates, without any application to Rome for bulls of any kind; and those who violated this law were declared to be in a præmunire [59]. By another act, all appeals to the pope and his courts at Rome were prohibited, under the same penalty; and the power of determining causes in the last resort was in some cases conferred on the primate, and in others on the king [60]. By another law, which is very long and particular, all payments to the pope, for Peter-pence, dispensations, procurations, provisions, bulls, delegacies, rescripts, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, rehabilitations, abolitions, &c. &c. are prohibited [61]. By

[58] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 769.
[59] Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20.
[60] Ibid. cap. 19.
[61] Ibid. cap. 21.

these

theſe laws the pope was deprived of all the power and all the revenues he had long poſſeſſed in England. This was a ſevere blow, which, it is probable, his holineſs did not expect. Theſe laws were firſt brought into the houſe of commons, and they treated the pope with little reſpect or ceremony, calling him and his predeceſſors impoſtors, who had long deceived the world by falſe pretences, and uſurpers of powers and prerogatives to which they had no title. If any perſon in England had uſed this language only a few years before, he would have been committed to the flames. The ſame parliament in the next ſeſſion, November A. D. 1534, granted to the king, as ſupreme head on earth of the church of England, and to his heirs and ſucceſſors, all the powers, prerogatives, and emoluments, they had taken from the pope, which brought a great acceſſion both of power and revenue to the crown [62]. Cent. XVI.

Henry and his miniſters were at no little pains to reconcile the minds of his ſubjects of all ranks to this great change in the government of the church, and to eradicate their veneration for the pope, and their reſpect for his authority, to which they had been ſo long accuſtomed. With this view he procured and publiſhed the opinions of the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge: "That the biſhop of "Rome had no more authority in England by the "word of God, than any other foreign biſhop." All the Engliſh biſhops ſubſcribed and ſealed, and took a ſolemn oath to adhere to the ſame opinion. Precautions.

[62] Statutes, 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1 and 3.

Cent. XVI. The name of the pope was ſtruck out of all the books that were uſed in the ſervice of the church. A very ſtrict injunction was iſſued, commanding all prelates to preach every Sunday and holiday in ſupport of the king's ſupremacy, and againſt the authority of the biſhop of Rome, and to command their clergy to do the ſame. Inſtructions were ſent to all the ſheriffs to keep a watchful eye on the clergy in their ſeveral counties, and to ſend up the names of ſuch as did not preach againſt the pope's authority, and in vindication of the king's ſupremacy; or did it in a deluſory ſuperficial manner. Even ſchoolmaſters were enjoined to give proper inſtructions to their ſcholars on theſe ſubjects. Several books were written and circulated with great induſtry, to convince the world that the dominion which the biſhop of Rome claimed and exerciſed over the chriſtian church, as Chriſt's vicar upon earth, was an uſurpation, and had no foundation in ſcripture [63]. Spies were ſent into all parts of the country, and even into Scotland, to hear and report the obſervations that were made upon the late tranſactions [64]. Theſe prudent precautions were neither unneceſſary, nor without effect: they were not unneceſſary, becauſe ſeveral of the clergy particularly of the friars, travelled up and down the country preaching with vehemence in ſupport of the papal pretenſions, and inflaming the minds of the people againſt the king for aſſuming the ſupremacy; they were not without effect, becauſe they put a ſtop to the inflammatory declamations

[63] Wilkin. p. 771—776. [64] Strype's Mem. ch. 21.

of

of thoſe dangerous incendiaries; and encouraged ſuch of the clergy as wiſhed for a reformation, and even ſome who had nothing at heart but their own promotion, to endeavour by their preaching and writings to convince the people, that the claim of the biſhop of Rome to the government of the whole church was not well founded; and that the king had an undoubted right to the ſupremacy in his own dominions, by which the peace of the kingdom was at this time preſerved [65]. Cent. XVI.

Still further to ſecure the public tranquillity, the ſentence of divorce that had been pronounced by the archbiſhop of Canterbury between the king and his firſt queen Catherine, and the ſentence of the ſame prelate confirming the king's marriage with his ſecond queen Anne Boleyn, were confirmed by parliament; and by the ſame act the ſucceſſion to the crown was ſettled on the king's iſſue male by queen Anne, or any future queen; and failing them, on the princeſs Elizabeth and her iſſue, by which the princeſs Mary was excluded as illegitimate. This act was to be publiſhed in every county of the kingdom before the 1ſt of May, A. D. 1534; and if any perſon, after that day, did any thing, by act or writing, to diſparage the king's preſent marriage, or to defeat the ſucceſſion as then ſettled, he was to be puniſhed as a traitor; and all ſubjects above the age of twenty-one were appointed to take a ſolemn oath, acknowledging the legality of the king's marriage with queen Anne, and engaging to ſupport the ſucceſſion [66]. Fiſher, biſhop of Ro-

[65] Strype, ch. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. [66] Statutes, 25 Hen. cap. 22.

Cent. XVI. cheſter, and ſir Thomas More, (as hath been before narrated,) fell ſacrifices with this law; and the execution of two perſons ſo eminent for their rank, and ſo renowned for their piety, virtue, and learning, ſtruck terror into all others. The oath was taken not only by the laity of all ranks, but by all the clergy both regular and ſecular, though it contained a clauſe acknowledging the king's ſupremacy; and declaring that the biſhop of Rome had no more authority in England than any other foreign biſhop [67]. The pope therefore appeared now to have loſt all his influence, and all his partiſans in England. But this was a fallacious appearance. Great multitudes took this oath only to ſave their lives, and with a reſolution to break it as ſoon as they could do it with ſafety.

Proclamation

Though the church of England was now ſeparated from the church of Rome, it ſtill retained all the doctrines and ceremonies, together with the odious perſecuting ſpirit, of that church. The king, in the beginning of 1535, iſſued a proclamation, threatening death without mercy to all who denied or diſputed the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, or any of the other doctrines of the holy church, or who contemned or violated any of the laudable rights and ceremonies heretofore uſed; as holy bread, holy water, proceſſion, kneeling, and creeping to the croſs on Good Friday, &c. &c. By this proclamation ſuch of the clergy as had married were deprived of their orders and benefices, and declared to be laymen, and ſuch as preſumed to marry afterwards

[67] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 774. 780, 781, 782.

wards were not only to be deprived, but alſo im- Cent. XVI.
priſoned and puniſhed as the king pleaſed[68]. Several anabaptiſts, who had fled from perſecution in Germany, and had taken ſhelter in England about this time, were apprehended and put to death, not only for their doctrine concerning baptiſm, but chiefly for denying tranſubſtantiation[69]. In a word, no idea was yet entertained of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. Henry was the pope of England; hereſy was ſtill accounted the greateſt of all crimes, and ſubjected thoſe who were convicted of it to the moſt cruel of all puniſhments.

The king being now fully inveſted with the title of ſupreme head of the church of England, and with all the powers annexed to that title, reſolved to exerciſe theſe powers in their full extent. To accompliſh this, he appointed Thomas Cromwell, then ſecretary of ſtate, his vicar-general and vicegerent, with authority to viſit all eccleſiaſtical perſons and communities in his dominions, to rectify and correct all abuſes, and, in a word, to do every thing that he himſelf could do as ſupreme head of the church of England. He granted him alſo a power to give commiſſions under the great ſeal to ſuch perſons as he ſhould think proper, to aſſiſt him in performing the duties of that high and arduous office. Cromwell accordingly gave commiſſions to doctors Leighton, Lee, London, and many other perſons, containing very ample powers to viſit all churches, metrapolitical, cathedral, and collegiate; Cromwell vicegerent.

[68] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. 778. [69] Ibid. p. 779.

Cent. XVI. all monaſteries and priories, both of men and women; to inquire into the conduct of archbiſhops, biſhops, and dignitaries; of abbots and priors, abbeſſes, prioreſſes, monks, and nuns, both as to ſpirituals and temporals: and to cenſure and puniſh ſuch as were found delinquents, according to their demerits [70].

Viſitation of monaſteries.

Though theſe commiſſioners were authoriſed to viſit the ſecular clergy, even of the higheſt dignity, this, it is probable, was not deſigned to be executed, but only to exhibit an appearance of impartiality, and to conceal from the monaſtics the dreadful blow that was intended to be given them. It is certain the inſtructions that were given to theſe viſitors relate only to convents, and bore the following title: "Articles to be inquired into in this "royal viſitation of monaſtics, eſpecially of thoſe "who are exempt from the juriſdiction of their "dioceſan, who are now at laſt ſubjected to the "juriſdiction of his majeſty." Theſe inſtructions are very particular, and conſiſt of no fewer than eighty-ſix articles: many of them relate to the ſtate and management of their revenues, their relics, jewels, plate, furniture, corn, cattle, and goods of every kind. Several of them ſeem to intimate a ſuſpicion, that the monks and nuns did not obſerve their vows of chaſtity very ſtrictly, and ſuggeſt the inquiries to be made on that ſubject. They were to inquire, whether the monks of any monaſtery were defamed for incontinency; whether women were obſerved to reſort to it by back-ways; and

[70] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 784, 785.

whether

whether boys and young men frequently ſlept with the abbot, or the monks. With reſpect to nunneries, they were directed to examine very carefully the height of the outward wall, the ſtrength of the doors and windows, and of their bars and bolts; to ſearch very diligently for dark and ſecret paſſages; to inquire whether the gates and doors were kept ſhut, and whether the keys were ever committed to the keeping of any of the young nuns, &c. &c. [71] Cent. XVI.

Henry had various reaſons to diſlike the monks: he was provoked by their declamations, both public and private, againſt his divorce: he ſuſpected them of conveying intelligence to his enemies abroad, and of fomenting diſaffection among his ſubjects at home. Though they had lately taken a ſolemn oath to ſupport his ſupremacy, he knew they were ſtill devoted to the pope, his greateſt enemy. Their ſpoils alſo preſented a tempting bait to a prince who was at once profuſe and covetous. It was evidently hazardous to attempt to overturn an eſtabliſhment ſo ancient, ſo opulent, and which had long been eſteemed ſacred. But ſeveral circumſtances now concurred to render ſuch an attempt leſs dangerous than formerly. The monks were hated by the ſecular clergy, had loſt the favour of the laity of all ranks by their vices, and could expect no protection from their great patron at Rome. Henry was encouraged to attack them by Cranmer and Cromwell, who thought their revenues might be employed to better purpoſes; Henry diſlikes the monks.

[71] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 786—789.

Cent. XVI. and the preſent viſitation was intended to pave the way for their ſuppreſſion, by detecting and expoſing their ſecret enormities and vices.

Reports of the viſitors. The viſitors, having received their commiſſions and inſtructions, were diſpatched into different parts of the kingdom at the ſame time, that the monks might have as little warning of their approach as poſſible. They executed their commiſſions with zeal and diligence, and made ſome curious diſcoveries almoſt in every houſe, not much to the honour of its inhabitants. In making theſe diſcoveries they were greatly indebted to the violent factions and animoſities which reigned among the monks and nuns, who informed againſt one another, and againſt their ſuperiors. Accounts of their proceedings were tranſmitted by the viſitors to the vicar-general, and contained ſufficient materials to render the monaſtics completely infamous, and the objects of univerſal deteſtation, for their groſs abſurd ſuperſtition and idolatry, their infernal cruelty, their ſhameful impoſitions on the credulity of the people, their abandoned unnatural incontinency, their drunkenneſs, gluttony, and other vices. Some of the old abbots and friars did not attempt to conceal their amours, which they knew to be impoſſible. The holy father, the prior of Maiden-Bradley, aſſured the viſitors, that he had only married ſix of his ſons and one of his daughters out of the goods of his priory as yet; but that ſeveral more of his children were now grown up, and would ſoon be marriageable. He produced a diſpenſation from the pope permitting him to keep a miſtreſs; and he

he acquainted them that he took none but young maidens to be his miſtreſſes, the handſomeſt that he could procure; and when he was diſpoſed to change, he got them good huſbands[72]. But the page of hiſtory muſt not be ſtained with the abominations contained in the reports of theſe viſitors. It may be ſufficient to lay before the reader, a ſhort deſcription of their contents in the preamble to the act of parliament which they produced: "Foraſmuch as manifeſt ſin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily uſed and committed in abbies, priories, and other religious houſes of monks, canons, and nuns; and albeit, many continual viſitations hath been heretofore had by the ſpace of two hundred years and more, for an honeſt charitable reformation of ſuch unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living, yet nevertheleſs little or none amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious living ſhamefully increaſeth and augmenteth," &c.[73] It is but juſt to notice, that though the corruption of the monaſtics in England at this time was very general, it was not univerſal: ſome in almoſt every monaſtery were regular in their conduct, and at their own deſire were ſet at liberty. A few convents were found to be well governed, and unexceptionable: and for the preſervation of theſe, the viſitors pleaded with great earneſtneſs[74]. This affords a preſumptive proof, that the complaints of the delinquent monks, of Cent. XVI.

[72] Strype, ch. 34, 35. [73] Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28.
[74] Strype, p. 255.

the

Cent. XVI. the extreme ſeverity of the viſitors, were not well founded.

Small monaſteries diſſolved.

Having received ample information of the ſtate of the convents, and the manners of their inhabitants, it was debated in council what was proper to be done; and on this ſubject ſeveral ſchemes were propoſed[75]. It was believed to be dangerous to attempt the diſſolution of all the religious houſes in the kingdom at once; it was therefore very prudently reſolved to begin with the ſmaller monaſteries, which were ſaid to be the moſt corrupt, and were certainly the weakeſt. The reports of the viſitors were laid before parliament, which furniſhed the enemies of the monaſtics with materials for declaiming againſt them, and almoſt ſtopped the mouths of their friends. By the laſt act of the long parliament in April 1536, all the houſes of monks, canons, and nuns, that had not above 200l. of yearly revenue, and did not contain above twelve members, were diſſolved, and all their lands and goods granted to the king. By the ſame act, all the reſignations that had been made of religious houſes by their ſuperiors to the king were confirmed[76]. The number of religious houſes diſſolved by this act was three hundred and ſeventy-ſix, and their former poſſeſſors were removed into the greater convents of the ſame order. The annual revenues ariſing from their lands was computed to be 32,000l.; and their jewels, plate, and furniture, with their corn, cattle, and other goods, were

[75] Strype, p. 271, &c.

[76] Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28.

eſtimated

eſtimated at 100,000l.: but both theſe computations were much below their real value. Cent. XVI.

Several ſevere proclamations had been iſſued by the king, at the requiſition of the clergy, againſt all who read, or kept by them, Tindal's Tranſlation of the New Teſtament into Engliſh. A copy of this book found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon was ſufficient to convict him of hereſy, and ſubject him to the flames. The biſhops were at incredible pains to prevent the importation of thoſe dangerous volumes, to ſeize them after their importation, and to puniſh the importers and purchaſers. They pretended that Tindal's Tranſlation was full of errors and hereſies; and they promiſed to prepare and publiſh a more faithful tranſlation; but they were in no haſte to perform their promiſe. In the mean time, thoſe of the people of all ranks who ſuſpected that many errors prevailed in the church, and wiſhed for a reformation, became more and more importunate and impatient to have the uſe of the ſcriptures in their native language. At length archbiſhop Cranmer, wiſhing to gratify this laudable deſire of the people, obtained the king's permiſſion to prepare a tranſlation of the Bible, to be publiſhed by authority. To accompliſh this work, Cranmer divided the New Teſtament into nine parts, choſe nine of the beſt Greek ſcholars he could find, and committed the tranſlating of one of theſe parts to each. When they were all tranſlated and returned to him, he ſent one of theſe parts to one of the moſt learned of his brethren the biſhops, to be corrected, and returned with their obſervations. Tranſlation of the Bible.

Cent. XVI. Eight of the nine biſhops complied with this requiſition; but Stokeſley, biſhop of London, returned his part (the Acts of the Apoſtles) with a ſurly meſſage: That he diſapproved the allowing the uſe of the ſcriptures to the people, which would betray them into damnable errors, and diſturb the peace of the church. The primate expreſſing ſome ſurpriſe at this meſſage, one of the company obſerved, that doctor Stokeſley would give himſelf no trouble about any teſtament in which he had no legacy; and beſides, (ſaid he,) the apoſtles were ſo poor that they are quite below the notice of my lord of London. This tranſlation was not publiſhed till about three years after the order for preparing it was granted [77].

Convocation. In a convocation of the province of Canterbury at St. Paul's, June 21ſt, A. D. 1536, the lord Cromwell took his ſeat above the archbiſhop as the king's vicegerent. In the fourth ſeſſion, June 23d, doctor Gwent, prolocutor of the lower houſe, brought up a complaint to the higher houſe, that many dangerous errors and damnable hereſies were now publicly preached in all parts of England; and produced a ſchedule of no fewer than ſixty-ſeven of thoſe abuſes, errors, and hereſies, and required that they ſhould be reformed. Many of theſe pretended errors and abuſes are now the eſtabliſhed doctrines and practices of the church of England; ſuch as preaching againſt tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, extreme unction, auricular confeſſion, penances, pardons, indulgences,

[77] Burnet, p. 195.

dulgences, praying to ſaints, worſhipping images, and relics; pilgrimages, holy water, hallowed oil, bread, candles, aſhes, and palms; and in a word, againſt all doctrines that have no foundation in ſcripture, and all ceremonies that are merely of human invention. Againſt all theſe, the clergy of the lower houſe of convocation, complained, that ſome heretical preachers declaimed, and many of the people talked, with impunity [78]. This is a ſufficient proof, that the principles and ſpirit of the reformation had at this time made no great progreſs among the clergy of the province of Canterbury. Though they had with extreme reluctance, renounced the ſupremacy of the pope, they ſtill retained their attachment to all the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome. Cent. XVI.

The clergy of the province of York were ſtill more averſe to all reformation, than their brethren in the ſouth. The vicegerent had ſent ten interrogatories to them, to which he required their anſwers. We may gueſs at the queſtions by the anſwers. To the firſt they anſwered—That all who preached againſt purgatory, worſhipping of ſaints, pilgrimages, images, &c. ſhould be committed to the flames as heretics. To the ſecond—That neither the king, nor any temporal man, could be ſupreme head of the church by the laws of God. To the third—That they were not ſufficiently inſtructed in the fact to return any anſwer. To the fourth—That no clerk ought to be put to death without degradation. To the fifth—That York convocation.

[78] Wilkin. p. 805.

no

Cent. XVI. no man ought to be drawn out of ſanctuary, but in certain caſes expreſſed in the laws of the church. To the ſixth—That the clergy in the north had not granted the tenths and firſt-fruits to the king in convocation; and by the laws of the church, they can make no ſuch grant; and that they had not given their conſent to the act of parliament. They think, that by the laws of God no temporal man can claim ſuch tenths and firſt-fruits. To the ſeventh—That lands given to God, the church, or religious men, may not be taken away, and put to profane uſes, by the laws of God. To the eighth—We think diſpenſations lawfully granted by the pope to be good; and pardons have been allowed by general councils and the laws of the church. To the ninth—We think, that by the law of the church, general councils, interpretations of approved doctors, and conſent of chriſtian people, the pope of Rome hath been taken for the head of the church, and vicar of Chriſt; and ſo ought to be taken. This was a very extraordinary anſwer from men who had lately renounced the ſupremacy of the pope, and acknowledged the ſupremacy of the king by a ſolemn oath. They had probably obtained a diſpenſation from Rome. To the tenth they anſwered—We think that the examination and correction of deadly ſin belongeth to the miniſters of the church, by God's law [79]. Beſides theſe anſwers, they boldly demanded the reſtoration of the monaſteries, and the repeal of ſeveral acts of parliament. In theſe anſwers and demands we diſcover

[79] Strype's Appendix, No. lxxiv.

the

the ſeeds of that formidable rebellion called the pilgrimage of grace, that broke out in the north in October, A. D. 1536, about two months after this convocation. The demands of the inſurgents were in the ſame ſpirit, and almoſt in the ſame words with the anſwers of the convocation. Cent. XVI.

England was at this time a ſcene of great anxiety and agitation, of violent animoſities and diſputes between the friends and enemies of reformation. The biſhops were equally divided. Cranmer of Canterbury, Goodrich of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worceſter, Fox of Hereford, Hilſley of Rocheſter, and Barlow of Saint David's, favoured, and endeavoured to promote a reformation both in the doctrines and ceremonies of the church; which was oppoſed with equal zeal by Lee of York, Stokeſley of London, Tunſtall of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Sherborne of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carliſle [80]. The dignitaries in the ſeveral ſees generally co-operated with their biſhops; the inferior clergy, and the laity of all ranks, were no leſs divided, and as warmly engaged in this controverſy. Many books were publiſhed on both ſides, and paſſionate altercations raged in cities, towns, and villages, between the two parties. The king, deſirous to allay this ferment, which threatened the moſt dangerous commotions, gave a commiſſion to the biſhops and ſome other learned men to draw up certain articles of union, to be publiſhed by royal authority, as the creed and ritual of the church of England, in which

[80] Fuller, p. 212.

all

Cent. XVI. all the ſubjects were to be commanded, to acquieſce. After many meetings and much altercation, the commiſſioners finiſhed their work: each party relinquiſhing ſome of their peculiar opinions, in order to preſerve others. It conſiſted of two parts: the firſt contained the doctrines neceſſary to be believed; and the ſecond, the ceremonies proper to be retained to promote devotion. In the firſt part, the people were commanded to believe every thing contained in the ſcriptures and three creeds; that called the Apoſtle's, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian. The three ſacraments, of baptiſm, of penance, and of the altar, are explained, and declared to be neceſſary to ſalvation. In the explanation of baptiſm, the neceſſity of baptiſing infants is aſſerted, and rebaptiſm is declared to be a damnable hereſy. In the explanation of penance, auricular confeſſion to a prieſt is made neceſſary; and the people were to be taught to give no leſs faith and credence to the words "of abſolution pronounced by the miniſters of the church, than they would give unto "the very voice and words of God himſelf, if he "ſhould ſpeak unto us out of heaven." This moſt impious and pernicious doctrine was too honourable and advantageous to the clergy to be ſoon relinquiſhed. In the explanation of the ſacrament of the altar, tranſubſtantiation is aſſerted in the ſtrongeſt terms that could be deviſed. This firſt part concludes with an explanation of the doctrine of juſtification, nearly the ſame with that which hath been adopted by all proteſtant churches. In the ſecond part, concerning ceremonies, images

were to be continued in churches, and the people were to be permitted to preſent offerings to them, to kneel, and to burn incenſe before them; but they were to be taught that this was not done to the images themſelves, but to the honour of God; "for "elſe there might fortune of idolatry to enſue, "which God forbid." This doth not ſeem to have been the moſt effectual way to prevent idolatry. Saints were to be honoured, but not with that confidence and honour that are only due unto God: that it was proper to pray to them to be our interceſſors, and to pray for us to Almighty God. The people were to be inſtructed, "to pray for ſouls "departed, and to commit them in our prayers to "God's mercy, and alſo to cauſe others to pray "for them in maſſes and exequies, and to give "alms to others to pray for them; whereby they "may be relieved and holpen of ſome part of their "pain." By this the emoluments of the clergy were ſecured under the name of alms. The people were to be enjoined and exhorted to obſerve almoſt all the former ceremonies; but they were to be taught, "that none of theſe ceremonies have "power to remit ſin, but only to ſtir and lift up "our minds unto God, by whom only our ſins be "forgiven[81]." Theſe articles were publiſhed by the king, and all his ſubjects were commanded to receive and obey them. The friends of reformation ſeem to have gained ſome advantage on this occaſion. The ſcriptures and the three ancient creeds were made the ſtandards of doctrine, without Cent. XVI.

[81] Fuller, p. 215, &c.

Cent. XVI. any mention of tradition. Four of the ſeven ſacraments were omitted; purgatory was left doubtful, pilgrimages were not enjoined, and ſeveral other things were explained and ſoftened. Both parties, however, were diſcontented. The papiſts complained that too much of the former ſyſtem was given up; and the reformers, that too much of it was retained. Theſe articles were ſubſcribed by all the members of both houſes of convocation [82].

Injunctions. Thomas lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general, publiſhed injunctions from time to time, directing the clergy what doctrines they were to preach, and inſtructing them, in an authoritative manner, how to perform the various duties of their ſacred office. This was humiliating to the clergy, but it was neceſſary. Many of the pariſh prieſts never preached, and others of them preached only on ſuch ſubjects as tended to inflame the bigotry and ſuperſtition of the people. The vicar-general, therefore, in his injunctions, commanded all rectors, vicars, and curates to preach one ſermon in each quarter of the year; "Wherein," ſays he, "ye "ſhall purely and ſincerely declare the very goſpel "of Chriſt, and in the ſame exhort your hearers "to works of charity, mercy, and faith, ſpecially "preſcribed and commanded in ſcripture, and not "to repoſe their truſt and affiance in any other "works deviſed by men's fantaſies, beſides ſcripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering "of money, candles, or tapers, to images or relics, "or kiſſing or licking the ſame. If ye have here-

[82] Wilkin, p. 817.

"tofore

" tofore declared to your pariſhioners any thing to Cent. XVI.
" the extolling or ſetting forth pilgrimages, feigned
" relics, or images, or any ſuch ſuperſtition, ye
" ſhall now openly before the ſame recant and re-
" prove the ſame; ſhewing them, as the truth is,
" that ye did the ſame upon no ground of ſcripture,
" but as one led and ſeduced by a common error
" and abuſe crept into the church, through the ſuf-
" ferance and avarice of ſuch as felt profit by the
" ſame[83]." Theſe and ſeveral other injunctions in the ſame ſtrain and ſpirit, that were publiſhed by the vicar-general, A. D. 1536-7, were drawn up by archbiſhop Cranmer: but they were very diſagreeable to the great body of the clergy, who ſtill retained a cordial affection to all the gainful tenets of the church of Rome. So much were many of the clergy diſſatisfied with theſe injunctions, that they read them in ſuch a manner that none could underſtand them, and told their people in private, to do as their fathers had done, and that the old way was the beſt[84].

Henry VIII. became more and more tenacious Viſitation.
of his new title of ſupreme head of the church of England, when he found that it brought him a very great acceſſion both of power and revenue. At the ſame time he knew that the monaſtics of all the different orders in his dominions were ſecret enemies to his ſupremacy, and devoted to the pope. He determined, therefore, firſt to diſgrace them, by expoſing their vices and impoſtures, and then to ruin them, and enrich the crown with their

[83] Wilkin, p. 816. [84] Strype's Cranmer, p. 70.

Cent. XVI. ſpoils. In order to this, he appointed a new viſitation, A. D. 1537, of all the remaining religious houſes, in the kingdom; and the commiſſioners were inſtructed to make ſtrict inquiry into the vices, the ſuperſtitious practices, and the cheats of the religious of both ſexes, by which they deceived the people and nouriſhed ſuperſtition to enrich themſelves. Many of the monks were ſo much alarmed at the report of this viſitation, that they ſurrendered their houſes and poſſeſſions to the king, without waiting the arrival of the viſitors. Theſe ſurrenders were made on various pretences; but the principal motives that influenced the ſurrenderers were, to prevent the publication and puniſhment of their vices, crimes, and impoſtures, and to procure better treatment and more liberal penſions. The chief employment of the viſitors, in this and the two following years, ſeems to have been ſettling the ſurrenders of monaſteries, and the penſions of the abbots, priors, and monks; making ſurveys of their eſtates; taking poſſeſſion of their relics, jewels, and plate (which in ſome houſes was of great value); ſelling their furniture; pulling down their churches, and ſuch of their other buildings as were only ſuited and uſeful to monaſtics; diſpoſing of their bells, lead, and other materials. It is almoſt incredible how many magnificent churches, cloiſters, dormitories, libraries, and other buildings, which had been erected at an immenſe expence of money and labour, were unroofed and ruined, in the ſhort ſpace of three or four years. To this dreadful havoc Henry and his courtiers were prompted, partly

partly by their avarice, and partly to prevent the re-eſtabliſhment of the monaſtics [85]. Cent. XVI.

To finiſh this great affair, a parliament was called, which met at Weſtminſter April 28th, A. D. 1540. On the 13th of May a bill was brought into the houſe of peers for granting to the king, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, all the houſes, lands, and goods of all the abbies, priories, nunneries, chantries, hoſpitals, and religious houſes, that had already been ſurrendered or ſuppreſſed, or that ſhould hereafter be ſurrendered or ſuppreſſed. The journals take no notice of any oppoſition to this bill in the houſe of peers: but it certainly met with oppoſition. There were no fewer than twenty abbots in that houſe, who could not all be ſilent on that occaſion [86]. Beſides, we are informed that Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, and ſeveral other prelates that favoured the new learning, (as the reformation was then called,) pleaded earneſtly for the preſervation of three or four houſes in every county, to be converted into ſchools for the education of youth, and hoſpitals for the relief of the poor; and that by their oppoſition to his favourite bill, they incurred the king's diſpleaſure, which he ſoon after made them feel [87]. Great art was uſed to perſuade the temporal peers and the gentlemen of the houſe of commons to paſs this bill, againſt which they had many objections. They were aſſured, "That if "the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, and their houſes, Monaſteries ſuppreſſed.

[85] Burnet, vol. i. p. 235, &c. [86] Journals, Dugdale, p. 501.
[87] Strypt's Cranmer, p. 72.

Cent. XVI. "lands, and goods granted to their king, there "ſhould be created forty earls, ſixty barons, three "thouſand knights, and forty thouſand ſoldiers "with ſkilful captains, and competent maintenance "for them all; and that no more loans or ſubſidies "ſhould ever be demanded [88]." This bill accordingly paſſed both houſes with much leſs oppoſition than might have been expected; and in conſequence of it, all the poſſeſſions of ſix hundred and forty-five convents, ninety colleges, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels, and an hundred and ten hoſpitals, were annexed to the crown. The yearly rent of their lands was eſtimated at 160,000 l.; which (if we may rely on the opinion of a right reverend and well-informed hiſtorian) was not one tenth of their real value [89]. The jewels, plate, furniture, and other goods, which had belonged to all theſe houſes, muſt have amounted to a prodigious ſum, of which no computation can now be made. In many of the richer monaſteries their veſtments were of cloth of gold, ſilk and velvet, richly embroidered; their crucifixes, images, candleſticks, and other utenſils, and ornaments of their churches, were of gold, ſilver gilt, and ſilver [90]. The gold taken from the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, filled, it is ſaid, two cheſts, which eight ſtrong men could hardly carry. Much of the jewels and plate in ſome monaſteries was conveyed away before their diſſolution, and ſome of it was

[88] Coke's 4 Inſtitute, f. 44. [89] Burnet, p. 269.
[90] See Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xvi.

probably

probably ſecreted by thoſe who had it in charge; but after all, immenſe quantities came into the treaſury, where it did not long continue. Cent. XVI.

The abolition of all the monaſtic orders in England, and the alienation of their property, was a very bold meaſure, and affords a ſtriking proof of the great power and awful determined character of the king, and of the ſuperior abilities, courage, and wiſdom of his miniſter and vicegerent Cromwell. It contributed greatly to promote the permanent proſperity of the kingdom in many reſpects, as well as the reformation of religion, which could not have been accompliſhed while thoſe nurſeries of idleneſs, vice, and ſuperſtition remained.

Though Henry had now emancipated himſelf and his ſubjects from the dominion of the pope, he ſtill continued as much attached as ever to ſome of the moſt abſurd tenets of the church of Rome, particularly tranſubſtantiation; and perſecuted thoſe who preſumed to call that doctrine in queſtion with the moſt unrelenting cruelty. A remarkable example of this occurred A. D. 1538. One John Nicolſon, who taught a ſchool in London, and to conceal himſelf from his former perſecutors, had aſſumed the name of Lambert, being brought before archbiſhop Cranmer, and accuſed of hereſy, for denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the euchariſt, appealed to the king, as ſupreme head of the church of England. Henry, vain of his theological learning, and inſtigated by Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, the moſt artful of men and the greateſt of flatterers, determined to bring Lam- Lambert burnt.

Cent. XVI. bert to a ſolemn trial before himſelf in Weſtminſter-hall. Letters were written to all the prelates and principal nobility to attend this trial. When the appointed day arrived, the king appeared in great ſtate, clothed in white, and ſeated under a canopy of the ſame colour, to denote the purity of his faith. The ſpiritual lords were ſeated on his right hand, and the temporal peers on his left; and the hall was crowded with ſpectators, attracted from all parts of the kingdom by the news of this extraordinary trial. When the priſoner was brought into the court, he appeared to be greatly amazed and diſconcerted at the ſight of the auguſt aſſembly, and the ſtern countenance of the king, who, ſtanding, commanded one of the biſhops to declare the occaſion of the meeting. This being done, the king, after railing at the priſoner with great vehemence for having changed his name, aſked him, "Doſt thou believe the real corporal preſence of "the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of "the altar?" "I believe," ſaid Lambert, "with "St. Auguſtine, the preſence of Chriſt in the ſa-"crament in a certain manner." The king, in a paſſionate tone, commanded him to give a direct anſwer to the queſtion. Lambert fell upon his knees, and began to praiſe the king for his goodneſs, in condeſcending to hear one of the humbleſt of his ſubjects; but Henry interrupted him, ſaying, he came not there to hear his own praiſes; and commanded him inſtantly to anſwer his queſtion; which he did, by acknowledging that he did not believe the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

ſacrament. Ten biſhops had been appointed to manage this debate, of which Cranmer was the firſt; who, addreſſing the priſoner with great mildneſs, attempted to prove, from our Saviour's appearing to Paul at his converſion, that a body might be in more places than one at the ſame time. But Gardiner thinking that he uſed too much gentleneſs, broke in and urged the ſame argument with great aſperity of language. He was followed by Tonſtal of Durham, Stokeſley of London, and other ſix prelates, who in ſucceſſion argued for the corporal preſence from various topics. Lambert, who was a man of good ſenſe and learning, and had made this controverſy very much his ſtudy, anſwered all his opponents in their turns, with great acuteneſs and ſtrength of argument, though he was often interrupted, inſulted, and ridiculed. At length, worn out with the fatigue of ſtanding five hours, and diſputing with ſo many antagoniſts, he remained ſilent. The king then aſked him, "Will "you live, or die?" "I commit my ſoul," ſaid he, "to the mercy of God, and my body to the "mercy of your majeſty."—"I will have no "mercy," ſaid Henry, "on heretics;" and commanded Cromwell to read the ſentence, which condemned the priſoner to be burnt as an obſtinate heretic. This cruel ſentence was executed with circumſtances of uncommon cruelty[91]. It is impoſſible to contemplate this pompous diſplay of barbarous inhuman bigotry without ſurpriſe and horror. May God preſerve this happy iſland from Cent. XVI.

[91] Fox, p. 1024.

the

Cent. XVI. the return of that infernal ſpirit! Some have imagined that Cranmer, on this occaſion, argued againſt the conviction of his own mind. But this is a miſtake; there is ſufficient evidence that at this time, and for ſome years after, he was a firm believer of the corporal preſence [92].

Many holidays aboliſhed.

While Henry was thus ſacrificing his innocent ſubjects to his bigotted attachment to the tenets of the church of Rome, he was doing ſome things which contributed not a little to reformation. The Romiſh calendar was crowded with ſaints; and the prodigious number of holidays greatly impeded induſtry, and promoted riot and debauchery. He iſſued a proclamation, A. D. 1536, aboliſhing all the holidays in harveſt, from July 1ſt to September 29th, except three, commanding the feaſts of the dedication of all the churches in England, commonly called wakes, to be kept on one day, the firſt Sunday in October, and prohibiting the obſervation of the feaſts of the patrons of churches [93]. This act and proclamation was ſent to all the biſhops, with a letter from the king, commanding them ſtrictly to ſee it put in execution in their reſpective dioceſes; and it was enforced in ſubſequent injunctions. By this, many days were reſcued from riot, to be employed in uſeful labour.

Bible tranſlated.

There was nothing the friends of the old learning (as the tenets of popery were then called) more dreaded and deprecated, than the tranſlation of the ſcriptures into Engliſh, and granting the uſe of them to the people; nor was there any thing that

[92] Strype's Cranmer, ch. 18. p. 66. [93] Wilkin, tom. iii. p. 823.

the

the friends of reformation more ardently laboured to procure. This was a long and violent ſtruggle between the two parties. Archbiſhop Warham ſent a paſtoral letter to all the prelates of his province, A. D. 1526, acquainting them that certain children of iniquity, blinded by malice, had tranſlated the New Teſtament into Engliſh, to ſpread hereſy, and ruin men's ſouls; and that ſome of theſe pernicious books had been brought into England. He directed them, therefore, to command all perſons within their dioceſes, who had any of theſe dangerous books, to deliver them up to their biſhop, or his commiſſary, within thirty days, under the pain of excommunication, and of being puniſhed as heretics[94]. Four years after this, the cry for a tranſlation of the Bible, and the oppoſition to it ſtill continuing, the king publiſhed a proclamation; in which he told his ſubjects, that he had conſulted the two primates, and ſeveral other biſhops and learned men; "and that, by all thoſe "virtuous, diſcreet, and well-learned perſonages in "divinity, it is thought that it is not neceſſary the "ſcriptures be in the Engliſh tongue, and in the "hands of the common people. And that having "reſpect to the malignity of this preſent time, with "the inclinations of the people to erroneous opi-"nions, the tranſlation of the New Teſtament and "the Old into the vulgar tongue of the Engliſh, "ſhould rather be the occaſion of continuance or "increaſe of errors among the ſaid people, than "any benefice or commodity towards the weal of

Cent. XVI.

[94] Wilkin, p. 706.

"their

Cent. XVI. "their ſouls[95]." Such were the ſentiments of the king and prelates of England on this ſubject at that time. But after Henry began to quarrel with the pope, and Cranmer was advanced to the primacy, he changed his opinion, and began to liſten to the opinions of his ſubjects, to have the ſcriptures in a language they underſtood. When doctor Cranmer was advanced to the primacy, he ſtood in the higheſt degree of favour with the king, which was the cauſe of his unexpected promotion. This gave him ſo much influence and authority in the church, that the convocation of his province, December 9th, A. D. 1534, conſented and agreed that he ſhould make application to the king, to name and appoint certain honeſt and learned men to tranſlate the ſcriptures into Engliſh, to be put into the hands of the people, for their inſtruction[96]. Cranmer applied to the king accordingly, and obtained a commiſſion to himſelf and ſome other learned men, to prepare a tranſlation of the Bible, for the inſtruction of his ſubjects. For expedition in this work, which he had much at heart, he divided the Bible into ſeveral parts, and gave one to each tranſlator. When the tranſlation was finiſhed, the printing of it was committed to Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, who obtained permiſſion from Francis to print it at Paris[97]. But on a complaint from the French clergy, the part that was then printed was ſeized. The printers, however, were permitted to retire with their types and preſſes, and

[95] Wilkin, p. 741. [96] Ibid. p. 776.
[97] Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xxxi.

finiſhed

finiſhed their work in London. When Cranmer received ſome copies of this Bible, he ſaid it gave him more joy than if he had received a preſent of 10,000 l. The king, by proclamation, A. D. 1537, commanded one of theſe Bibles, at the equal expence of the incumbent and the pariſhioners, to be depoſited in every pariſh-church, to be read by all who pleaſed; and as ſome towns and pariſhes did not obey this firſt proclamation, it was enforced in a ſecond, with ſevere penalties [98]. At laſt Cromwell procured permiſſion, A. D. 1539, to all the ſubjects, to purchaſe copies of this Engliſh Bible for the uſe of themſelves and their families [99]. By ſuch ſlow ſteps, the people of England obtained the ineſtimable privilege of peruſing the word of God in their own language, which had been long denied them. This privilege was not obtained without much difficulty and oppoſition from the popiſh party. Cent. XVI.

Beſides this tranſlation of the Bible, ſome other books were publiſhed about this time, by the king's authority, for the inſtruction of his ſubjects; as the King's Primer, A. D. 1535, which was a collection of twenty-nine ſmall tracts, conſiſting of explanations of the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and ſeveral pſalms and prayers for different occaſions; the Biſhops' Book, A. D. 1537, or the godly and pious inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, which was drawn up by a committee of Other books.

[98] Wilkin, p. 856.

[99] Strype's Cranmer, ch. 17. Append. No. xxv.

biſhops,

Cent. XVI. biſhops, and reviſed and corrected by the king[100]. Though theſe books contained too many of the peculiar tenets and ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the church of Rome, they contributed not a little to diffuſe a ſpirit of inquiry among the people, and thereby promoted the reformation. The Biſhops' Book, or the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, was ſubſcribed by the two archbiſhops and nineteen biſhops, and confirmed by an act of parliament. The publication of the Engliſh Bible, and of theſe books, gave great joy to the friends of the reformation.

Images removed.

The images and relics of ſaints had long been the chief objects of the ſuperſtitious veneration of the people of England, and of all the other nations of Europe in communion with the church of Rome. This kind of devotion was very much encouraged by the clergy, eſpecially by the monaſtics, who had the cuſtody of thoſe images and relics, and were enriched by the offerings of their deluded worſhippers. To increaſe their gains, they publiſhed accounts of miraculous cures pretended to be wrought by certain images, and were guilty of many other deceits and impoſitions. Some of theſe were diſcovered and expoſed at the diſſolution of the monaſteries, which gave a check to that ſpecies of ſuperſtition[101]. But many images and relics ſtill

[100] Strype's Mem. ch. 31. Cranmer, ch. 13.

[101] A crucifix at Boxley in Kent, which moved its head, arms, and legs, by ſprings and wheels concealed in the body of it, was managed by a prieſt. The blood of Chriſt at Hales in Gloceſterſhire, as it was pretended, was diſcovered to be the blood of a duck renewed weekly. Burnet, p. 242.

remained in cathedrals and other churches, that were the objects of popular veneration, and attracted crowds of pilgrims. The king therefore sent instructions to all the bishops, A. D. 1538, directing them to command their clergy to teach the people in their sermons, "not to repose their trust "and affiance on works devised by men's fantasies, "as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of mo- "ney, candles, or tapers, to feigned relics or "images, or kissing or licking the same, or such "like superstition." They were further instructed, that if they knew of any such feigned images in any of their dioceses, that were abused with pilgrimages or offerings, to take them down without delay, for avoiding that most detestable offence of idolatry [102]. Besides these general instructions, particular injunctions were given for pulling down some of the richest and most frequented shrines, as that of St. Richard at Colchester, and of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury [103]. But as Becket had long been esteemed the greatest of saints, attracted the greatest crowds of pilgrims, and received the most valuable of offerings, he was treated with greater ceremony. He was solemnly tried before the king in council, and found to be neither a saint, nor a martyr. Not a saint, because he had rebelled against his sovereign; not a martyr, because he had fallen in a fray, in which he was the aggressor. He was therefore condemned as a traitor, all the rich ornaments of his altar and shrine confiscated, his festival abolished, and all his images thrown down [104].

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[102] Fox, p. 102. [103] Wilkin, p. 840. [104] Ibid. p. 835. 847.

Thus

Cent. XVI. Thus far had the reformation of the church of England proceeded before the meeting of the parliament in April 1539, when an effectual ſtop was put to its further progreſs, though much remained to be reformed. As the changes that had been made were chiefly owing to the influence of archbiſhop Cranmer and lord Cromwell with the king, ſo the ſtop that was now put to any further changes was partly owing to the decline of that influence, and partly to the inſinuating arts and perſuaſions of the popiſh party. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, repreſented to the king, that the emperor and the kings of France and Scotland, at the inſtigation of the pope, were meditating an invaſion of his dominions; that many of his own ſubjects were ſo much offended with the late innovations in religion, and ſo much diſquieted by their fears of greater innovations, that they were ripe for rebellion; and that the only way to avert all theſe dangers would be to convince the world by ſome ſignal act, that though he had withdrawn from the obedience of the pope, he had not renounced the catholic faith. Some of the reformers alſo contributed not a little to alienate the king's mind from them, by declaiming with too much vehemence againſt certain doctrines of the church of Rome, to which he was ſtill attached.

Influenced by theſe, and perhaps by other motives with which we are unacquainted, Henry reſolved to proceed no farther in the road of reformation, and to ſecure the remaining tenets and ceremonies

ceremonies of the church of Rome by a law, with the moſt intimidating ſanctions. Cent. XVI.

The parliament met April 28th, and the lord chancellor Audley May 5th preſented the following meſſage from the king to the houſe of peers: "That it was his majeſty's deſire above all things, "that the diverſities of opinions concerning the "chriſtian religion, in his kingdom, ſhould be "with all poſſible expedition plucked up and ex-"tirpated: and therefore ſince this affair was of "ſo extraordinary a nature, that it could not well "be determined in a ſhort time, conſidering their "various ſentiments, by the whole houſe, the king "thought it neceſſary, if it ſeemed good unto "them, that they ſhould chuſe a committee of "themſelves to examine into theſe different opi-"nions; and whatever they decreed concerning "them, might be with all convenient ſpeed com-"municated to the whole parliament." The houſe complied with this meſſage, and choſe a committee of ten members, five of the old and five of the new learning, which was thought to be moſt equitable [105]. But it did not contribute to expedition: for after eleven meetings and many warm debates, they could agree upon nothing; nor was there any probability that they ever would agree, which made it neceſſary to adopt ſome other method. Parliament.

The duke of Norfolk, who was at the head of the popiſh party, and in high favour with the king, acquainted the peers May 16th, that their committee could come to no agreement. He there

[105] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 140.

Cent. XVI. laid before the houſe. the ſix following articles, to be examined by the whole parliament; and that their determination upon them ſhould be formed into a law, to which all the ſubjects ſhould be compelled to conform by certain penalties:

1. Whether the ſacrament of the altar be the real body of our Lord, without tranſubſtantiation, or not [106]?

2. Whether that ſacrament ſhould be given to the laity in both kinds, or not?

3. Whether vows of chaſtity made by men or women ought to be obſerved by the law of God, or not?

4. Whether private maſſes ought to be retained by the law of God, or not?

5. Whether prieſts may marry by the law of God, or not?

6. Whether auricular confeſſion to a prieſt be neceſſary by the law of God, or not?

Theſe were the queſtions that were the great ſubjects of thoſe violent diſputes between the friends and enemies of the reformation, that diſturbed the peace of the kingdom; and it was to put an end to theſe diſputes, by giving victory to the one party, and impoſing ſilence on the other, that a parliamentary deciſion of them was now required. The popiſh party poſſeſſed deciſive advantages in the diſcuſſion of theſe queſtions in this parliament. The king ardently deſired them to be determined in favour of that party, and his influence was irre-

106 Provided the corporal preſence was acknowledged, the popiſh party was willing to give up this word.

ſiſtible.

ſiſtible. The parliamentary abbots had not yet re- Cent. XVI.
ſigned their ſeals, and twenty of them were actually preſent in the houſe of peers[107]. The other party, however, did not tamely yield the victory; but having ſcripture, reaſon, and the moſt ancient fathers on their ſide, they ſupported their opinions with great ſpirit, and protracted their proceedings to a great length. Archbiſhop Cranmer, it is ſaid, maintained the tenets of the reformers no leſs than three days, with ſuch dignity, eloquence, and learning, as compelled the admiration of his greateſt enemies[108]. Numbers at length prevailed. All the ſix queſtions were determined in conformity to the doctrines of the church of Rome; and the lord chancellor reported to the houſe May 30th, "that "it was his majeſty's pleaſure, that ſome penal "ſtatute ſhould be enacted, to compel all his ſub-"jects, who were any way diſſenters or contra-"dictors of theſe articles, to obey them." The houſe appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of Ely and St. Aſaph, with doctor Petre, a maſter in chancery, to prepare one bill; and the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of Durham and Wincheſter, with doctor Trigonnell, alſo a maſter in chancery, to prepare another. Both bills were communicated to the king on Sunday June 1ſt, and he preferred that, prepared by the archbiſhop of York and his committee, who were all zealous for the old learning; and there is good evidence, that a great part of that bill was drawn by the king himſelf.

107 Dugdale's Summons to Parl. p. 501.
108 Herbert, p. 219.

Cent. XVI. ſelf[109]. To make it paſs more eaſily, the lord Cromwell, by the king's direction, laid the above ſix queſtions before the lower houſe of convocation June 2d, and obtained anſwers to them agreeable to the tenets of the church of Rome, expreſſed in very ſtrong terms; to convince parliament, that theſe were the ſentiments of the clergy[110]. At laſt this famous bill was brought into the houſe of peers June 7th, and paſſed June 10th; on which day the king ſent a meſſage to archbiſhop Cranmer, deſiring him not to come to the houſe, ſince he could not give his aſſent. But he returned for an anſwer, that he thought it his duty to attend, and declare his diſſent[111]: a very bold anſwer, conſidering to whom it was made. This bill paſſed the houſe of commons on June 16th, and received the royal aſſent on the 28th, the laſt day of the ſeſſion.

Act of the ſix articles. By this act, commonly called the bloody act, if any perſon by word, writing, printing, or any other way, denied or diſputed the real preſence of the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, conceived by the Virgin Mary, in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration, under the form of bread and wine; or that in the fleſh under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Chriſt; or that with the blood under the form of wine, is not the very fleſh of Chriſt; he was to be adjudged an heretic, and to ſuffer death by burning; and all his lands, goods, and chattels, were to be forfeited to the king, as in the caſe of high treaſon. If any affirmed or taught that communion in both

[109] Wilkin. p. 848. [110] Ibid. p. 845. [111] Fox. p. 1037.

kinds

kinds was neceſſary; or that prieſts might marry; or that vows of chaſtity were not perpetually binding; or that private maſſes were not lawful and laudable; or that auricular confeſſion to a prieſt was not neceſſary; they were to ſuffer death as felons [112]. Commiſſioners were appointed in every county to diſcover and apprehend all offenders againſt any part of this act, that none who were guilty might eſcape. Cent. XVI.

The atrocious cruelty of this act is too obvious to need any illuſtration. Could any thing be more barbarous than to conſign to the flames all who had the courage and honeſty to acknowledge, that they could not renounce their reaſon, and diſbelieve the united teſtimony of all their ſenſes? To condemn the clergy to celibacy, was ſufficiently cruel; but to puniſh a perſon with death for ſaying ſo, was the extreme of cruelty. But cruel as this act was, nothing could exceed the joy and exultation of the popiſh party on its paſſing, except the terror and dejection of the friends of the reformation. A member of the houſe of peers wrote thus in a letter ſtill extant: "And alſo news here, I aſſure you never "prince ſhewed himſelf ſo wiſe a man, ſo well "learned, and ſo catholic, as the king hath done "in this parliament. With my pen I cannot expreſs his marvellous goodneſs, which is come to "ſuch effect, that we ſhall have an act of parliament ſo ſpiritual, that I think none ſhall dare to "ſay, in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar doth remain either bread or wine after the conſecration; Cruelty of that act.

[112] Statutes, 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14.

Cent. XVI. "nor that a prieſt may have a wife; nor that it is "neceſſary to receive our Maker in both kinds; "nor that private maſſes ſhould not be ſaid as they "have been; nor that it is not neceſſary to have "auricular confeſſion. Finally, all in England "have cauſe to thank God, and moſt heartily to re- "joice of the king's moſt godly proceedings [113]." On the other hand, many of the reformers fled to the continent to ſave their lives. Shaxton biſhop of Saliſbury, and Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, reſigned their ſees and retired to a private ſtation [114]. Archbiſhop Cranmer was greatly dejected, and ſent away his wife to her friends in Germany. The king, however, had ſtill ſo great a regard for him, that he ſent the duke of Norfolk and lord Cromwell to dine with him, and to aſſure him of his unchangeable eſteem and favour [115].

Too cruel to be executed.

The king and the friends of Rome overacted their part on this occaſion, by making this act ſo ſanguinary that it could not be executed without rendering the kingdom a ſcene of unexampled horror and bloodſhed. This ſoon appeared. The commiſſioners appointed to put it in execution in London, in fourteen days committed and indicted no fewer than five hundred perſons; among whom were Shaxton and Latimer, and all the reforming preachers. The lord chancellor Audley waited upon the king, and repreſented the fatal effects of theſe violent proceedings in ſuch ſtrong colours, that Henry relented, and commanded the priſoners

[113] Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xxvi.
[114] Rym. p. 641. 643. [115] Strype's Cranmer, ch. 19.

to

to be liberated [116]. This gave a check to the too forward zeal of the commiſſioners in London, and in other parts of the kingdom; and while the lord Cromwell retained his office of the execution of this terrible act, it was in a manner ſuſpended. Melanchthon, one of the moſt learned and moderate of the German reformers, who was much reſpected by the king, wrote him a long and pathetic letter, expoſtulating with him on the ſeverity of this law, expoſing the artifices of Gardiner its chief promoter, and conjuring him to purſue milder meaſures, as more conſiſtent with the ſpirit of chriſtianity. "O impudent and wicked Wincheſter! "(ſaid he,) who, under theſe colourable fetches, "thinketh to deceive the eyes of Chriſt, and the "judgments of all the godly in the world. Theſe "things have I written that you may underſtand "the crafty ſlights, and ſo judge of the purpoſe "and policy of theſe biſhops [117]." This letter, it is probable, made ſome impreſſion on the king's mind. However that may be, the ſtorm did not fall ſo ſuddenly on the reformers as they dreaded, and their enemies deſired, though it afterwards fell very heavy. Cent. XVI.

As the greater monaſteries were ſurrendered in this and the following year, and a great maſs of wealth in lands, money, and goods, had already come into the king's hands, it was now thought to be time to perform ſome of the pompous promiſes that had been made to procure the diſſolution of the religious houſes. The lord Cromwell brought New biſhoprics.

[116] Hall, f. 234. [117] Fox, p. 1070.

Cent. XVI. a bill into the houſe of peers May 23d, to empower the king to erect new biſhoprics, deanries, and colleges, by letters patent, and endow them out of the revenues of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries. This bill was ſo univerſally acceptable that it paſſed that houſe the ſame day; and was ſent to the commons, by whom it was paſſed with the ſame alacrity. A draught of the preamble of this bill, written in the king's own hand, is ſtill extant; to which is annexed, in the ſame hand, a ſcheme of eighteen new biſhoprics, as many deanries, and ſeveral colleges, the places where they were to be ſeated, and the monaſteries out of which they were to be endowed [118]. This is a proof that Henry intended great things. But before he proceeded to execute them, he had granted away ſo many of the lands, and ſquandered away ſo much of the money, that he could not perform what he had projected. In virtue of the above act, he erected only ſix new biſhoprics, at the following places, viz. Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter. Theſe ſees were all founded in the courſe of the years 1540, 1541, and 1542 [119]. This was one of the greateſt advantages the nation derived from the ſuppreſſion of the religious houſes. Before this, ſeveral of the dioceſes were (and perhaps ſtill are) too extenſive.

Parliament. The parliament, after two prorogations, met again April 12th, A. D. 1540. The king had been long engaged in the irrational and hopeleſs project

[118] Burnet, p. 262. Strype's Mem. Append. No. cvii.
[119] Rym. tom. xvi. p. 795, &c.

of

of compelling all his ſubjects to entertain exactly the ſame religious opinions, and to change theſe opinions as often as he changed his own. With this view the cruel act of the ſix articles had been lately made, to burn or hang all who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. The title of that act was: For aboliſhing diverſity of opinions concerning the chriſtian religion. But with all its terrors it did not accompliſh that end. Religious controverſies and diverſity of opinions ſtill continued. The lord Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in ſpirituals, made a long ſpeech to both houſes, in which he acquainted them, that the king was grieved at the diſcord and diſſention that prevailed among his ſubjects in religion; and that he earneſtly deſired to bring them all to a perfect agreement in their religious principles, and a perfect uniformity in their religious worſhip. That in order to this, he had appointed one committee of biſhops and learned men to prepare a ſyſtem of the chriſtian doctrines, which all his ſubjects ſhould be compelled to believe; and another committee to ſettle the religious rites and ceremonies, which all ſhould be compelled to obſerve in worſhip. He told them further, that his majeſty, who was a true chriſtian and a moſt learned divine, would aſſiſt both theſe committees. The parliament unanimouſly approved of the deſign, and appointed the committees to meet every Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday, in the forenoon, and every day, except Sunday, in the afternoon, on that buſineſs. The committees laboured with great diligence in this arduous, or rather impracticable Cent. XVI.

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ticable work, as appears from many of their papers that are ſtill extant[120]. But as they were compoſed of an almoſt equal number of members of the old and new learning, they proceeded very ſlowly, and could not finiſh their work in time to be preſented to parliament before its diſſolution. This was foreſeen, and the parliament near the end of the ſeſſion made a very extraordinary law to oblige all the ſubjects of the kingdom to believe a ſyſtem of doctrines that was not yet compoſed, and to obſerve a ſyſtem of ceremonies that was not yet prepared. By this law it was enacted, "That whatſoever was determined by the archbiſhops and biſhops, and other divines now commiſſionated for that effect; or by any other appointed by the king, and publiſhed by the king's authority, concerning the chriſtian faith, or the ceremonies of the church, ſhould be believed and obeyed by all the king's ſubjects, as well as if the particulars ſo ſet forth had been enumerated in this act[121]." This ſeems to be the utmoſt bounds to which ſubmiſſion, not to ſay ſeverity, could be carried.

Perſecution.

Thomas lord Cromwell, knight of the garter, lord privy ſeal, lord chamberlain, and lord vicegerent, was created earl of Eſſex April 14th; and to all theſe honours and great offices he had been raiſed from a very humble ſtation by the king's favour. But his fall was as ſudden as his riſe was great. When he was ſitting in council June 10th, not conſcious of any guilt, or apprehenſive of any

[120] Strype's Mem. Append. No. lxxxviii. Burnet, book iii. Records. No. xxi.

[121] Burnet, p. 283.

danger,

danger, he was ſeized and committed to the Tower. Cent. XVI.
He was attainted by an act of parliament for hereſy and high treaſon, without being heard, and beheaded on Tower-hill July 28th. The friends of the reformation ſoon found that they had ſuſtained a mighty loſs by the fall of this great man; for he was hardly laid in his grave, when three of the moſt learned and zealous preachers of the new learning, doctor Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, were burnt July 30th in Smithfield for hereſy, on the act of the ſix articles [122]. Three papiſts, Powel, Fatherſtone, and Abell, who had been found guilty of treaſon for denying the king's ſupremacy, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the ſame time and place; which made a foreigner, who was a ſpectator of this horrid ſcene, cry out, "Good God! how unhappy are the people of this "country, who are hanged for being papiſts, or "burnt for being enemies to popery [123]."

Doctor Edmund Bonar had been a moſt active agent for the king in his conteſt with the court of Rome, and a zealous advocate for his ſupremacy, which recommended him to Cromwell and Cranmer; and by their influence he was promoted to the ſee of Hereford, and ſoon after tranſlated to that of London. But they were deceived by appearances, and knew not his real character. He was a bold, ambitious, unprincipled, and cruel man. Perceiving that the popiſh party prevailed at court, and being placed at the head of the commiſſioners for executing the act of the ſix articles in London,

[122] Fox, p. 1095. [123] Ibid. p. 1096.

he

Cent. XVI. he acted with great violence and cruelty in that capacity. Of his cruelty at this time, we ſhall only give one example, as too many of the ſame kind will afterwards occur. One Richard Mekins, a young man, or rather a boy, not above fifteen years of age, had been heard to ſay, that the ſacrament was only a ceremony, or a ſignification. For this he was impriſoned and brought to trial. Bonar, in his charge to the grand jury, exhorted them to have no mercy on heretics of any age or condition. Two witneſſes were produced; the one declared that he heard the priſoner ſay, that the ſacrament was only a ceremony: and the other, that he heard him ſay, that it was only a ſignification. The jury gave in their verdict, that they found nothing. On this Bonar ſtormed, and ſent them back to reconſider the matter. They gave the ſame verdict a ſecond time, which threw the biſhop into a violent rage, and made him pour out a torrent of threats and curſes. The jury being aſked on what they founded their verdict; anſwered, On the inconſiſtency of the evidence. Being told by the recorder, that as the court ſuſtained the evidence of theſe witneſſes, that was a ſufficient reaſon for them to ſuſtain it; they found the bill, and the petty jury found the priſoner guilty of ſpeaking againſt the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. This unhappy youth was quite illiterate, and profeſſed his willingneſs to believe any thing they pleaſed to dictate, to ſave his life; but in vain. He was committed to the flames, and reduced to aſhes[124]. A ſtrain of

[124] Hall, f. 244. Fox, p. 1096.

cruelty

cruelty that is almoſt incredible, but is too well atteſted to be doubted. Several others were burnt in different parts of England: and multitudes were impriſoned, and involved in great diſtreſs, by the commiſſioners for executing the act of the ſix articles. Cent. XVI.

From this period Henry became very unſteady and fluctuating in his ſentiments and conduct with reſpect to religion, ſometimes forwarding but more frequently reſtraining reformation, and even reſtoring ſome of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies that had been aboliſhed. He renewed, however, this year, 1541, May 6, his injunctions to the clergy, to provide Engliſh Bibles of the largeſt volume, and depoſit them in their churches, for the uſe of their people; his former injunctions on that ſubject having been generally diſobeyed by thoſe who were enemies to reformation [125]. He alſo republiſhed October 4th, his injunctions for removing out of cathedrals and other churches, all ſhrines and images to which pilgrimages had been made, and offerings had been preſented, with all tables recording pretended miracles, as his former injunctions for that purpoſe had been very imperfectly executed [126]. But about the ſame time he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding the feſtivals of ſeveral ſaints which had been aboliſhed, to be reſtored and obſerved [127]. The king unſteady.

He had been prevailed upon, chiefly by the importunities of Cromwell and Cranmer, to appoint an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible to be made, and Engliſh Bible.

[125] Wilkin. p. 856. [126] Ibid. p. 857. [127] Ibid. p. 859.

a copy

Cent. XVI. a copy of it to be depoſited in every church; and had even permitted private perſons to have copies of it in their houſes for the uſe of themſelves and their families. This was exceedingly diſagreeable to the great body of the clergy, who were enemies to all reformation. They made loud complaints, that the laity abuſed this privilege, by reading aloud to great crowds in the time of maſs, by commenting upon, and diſputing about the ſcriptures, which gave riſe to all the new opinions (which they called hereſies) that prevailed. They complained alſo, that the tranſlation was faulty in many places, and calculated to countenance hereſy. Theſe complaints at length had their effect. Henry was provoked that any of his ſubjects dared to entertain opinions different from thoſe he had dictated to them; and aſcribing this to the uſe of the ſcriptures in their own language, he determined to ſet limits to that liberty, or to take it entirely away. A convocation met at St. Paul's in January, A. D. 1542, and archbiſhop Cranmer declared to both houſes, that it was the king's intention that the prelates and clergy ſhould conſult together about the unſettled ſtate of religion, and deliberate about the moſt proper remedies, and correct what they thought ſtood in need of correction, particularly the Engliſh tranſlation of the Old and New Teſtament. The primate directed the lower houſe to deliberate on theſe things, and report the reſult of their deliberations. In the third ſeſſion, February 3d, this queſtion was put, Whether the great Engliſh Bible ſhould continue to be uſed in the church or not?

The majority were of opinion, that it could not be continued till it was reviſed and corrected. In a ſubſequent ſeſſion, one committee of biſhops and doctors was appointed to reviſe and correct the Engliſh tranſlation of the New Teſtament, and another that of the Old Teſtament. The majority of both theſe committees were againſt any Engliſh tranſlation of the ſcriptures, and determined not to be in haſte to execute their commiſſion. To puzzle the matter, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who was at the head of the popiſh party, and one of the committee for reviſing the New Teſtament, produced a liſt of one hundred Latin and Greek words which he pretended had a peculiar majeſty and ſignificancy in them, which could not be preſerved in Engliſh, and therefore propoſed that they ſhould be retained in the tranſlation. This abſurd propoſal was evidently deſigned to render the tranſlation almoſt uſeleſs. The archbiſhop, perceiving the refractory temper of the clergy, obtained a mandate from the king to the convocation, commanding them to refer the reviſal of the Engliſh Bible to the two univerſities, which they reluctantly obeyed [124]. Cent. XVI.

The popiſh party, under the influence of the duke of Norfolk and the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſtill prevailing at court, the reformation rather declined than advanced. An act very unfavourable to it was made in the next ſeſſion of parliament, that began January 22d, A. D. 1543. By that act the liberty of reading the Engliſh Bibles in the churches

124 Wilkin. p. 861.

was

Cent. XVI. was taken away, and they were removed. None under the rank of gentlemen were to have Engliſh Bibles in their poſſeſſion, or to read them in private; and the ſubjects were commanded to regulate their faith and practice by the injunctions publiſhed, and to be publiſhed, by the king. The penalties by which that act was enforced, breathed that barbarous ſpirit with which the ſupporters of popery were then animated. For the firſt offence, they were to recant; for the ſecond, to bear a faggot; and for the third, they were to be burnt [129].

The King's book.

Henry having thus deprived his ſubjects of the uſe of the ſcriptures in their own language, made haſte to furniſh them with that perfect ſyſtem of the chriſtian doctrines that he had promiſed. The committee of biſhops and doctors appointed to prepare that ſyſtem had applied to it with great diligence for a conſiderable time, and it was publiſhed May 29th, A.D. 1543, with this title: "A neceſ- "ſary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chriſtian "Man, ſet forth by the King's Majeſty." It had a preface written by the king, or at leaſt in his name, commending it highly, and exhorting and commanding all his ſubjects to ſtudy it diligently, and to make it the rule of their faith and manners, to put an end to all diverſity of opinions in religion. The following paragraph in the preface to this once famous book, deſigned to ſupply the place of the Bible, gives a very diſtinct account of its method and contents: "For knowledge of the "order of the matter in this book contained.

[129] Statutes, 34 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

"Foraſmuch.

" Foraſmuch as we know not perfectly God, but Cent. XVI.
" by faith, the declaration of faith occupieth in
" this treatiſe the firſt place. Whereunto is next
" adjoining, the declaration of the articles of our
" creed, concerning what we ſhould believe. And
" incontinently, after them followeth the explica-
" tion of the ſeven ſacraments. Then followeth
" conveniently the declaration of the ten com-
" mandments, being by God ordained the highway
" wherein each man ſhould walk in this life; to
" finiſh fruitly his journey here, and afterwards to
" reſt eternally in joy with him; which becauſe we
" cannot do of ourſelves, but have need always of
" the grace of God, as without whom we can
" neither continue in this life, nor without his
" ſpecial grace do any thing to his pleaſure, where-
" by to attain the life to come, we have, after the
" declaration of the ten commandments, expound-
" ed the ſeven petitions of our Pater Noſter,
" wherein be contained requeſts and ſuits for all
" things neceſſary to a chriſtian man in this pre-
" ſent life; with declaration of the Ave Maria, as
" a prayer containing a joyful rehearſal and mag-
" nifying God in the work of the incarnation of
" Chriſt, which is the ground of our ſalvation,
" wherein the bleſſed Virgin our Lady, for the
" abundance of grace wherewith God endowed her,
" is alſo with this remembrance honoured and
" worſhipped. And foraſmuch as the heads and
" ſenſes of our people have been imbuſied, and in
" theſe days travailed with the underſtanding of
" free will, juſtification, good works, and praying

Cent. XVI. "for ſouls departed; we have, by the advice of "our clergy, for the purgation of erroneous doc- "trines, declared and ſet forth openly, and with- "out ambiguity of ſpeech, the mere and certain "truth in them; ſo as we verily truſt, that to know "God, and how to live after his pleaſure, to the "attaining everlaſting life in the end, this book "containeth a perfect and ſufficient doctrine, "grounded and eſtabliſhed in holy ſcripture[130]." Such were the contents of this royal publication, the eſtabliſhed ſtandard of truth and orthodoxy, by which all the people of England were to regulate their faith and practice, till the king thought proper to change his opinion; and then all his ſubjects were bound, by an act of parliament, to make a ſimilar change in their opinions. It is difficult to conceive how tyranny in the king, and ſervility in the parliament, could be carried further.

The King's Primer.

Henry laboured this point of uniformity with uncommon ardour, and ſeems to have determined that none of his ſubjects ſhould think, ſpeak, or act, in public or in private, in matters of religion, but as he directed them. Not contented with dictating a ſyſtem of doctrines which they were to believe, and of the ceremonies they were to practiſe in the church, he publiſhed a manual of prayers, which he ſtrictly commanded all his ſubjects to uſe in their private devotions, prohibiting the uſe of any other prayers in their cloſets. This was called the King's Primer Book; and in his preface to it, he acquaints his loving ſubjects, "That foraſmuch as

[130] Strype's Mem. p. 379.

"we

" we have beſtowed right great labour and dili- Cent. XVI.
" gence, about ſettling a perfect ſtay in the other
" parts of our religion, we have thought good to
" beſtow our earneſt labour in this part alſo, being
" a thing as fruitful as the beſt, that men may
" know both what they pray, and alſo with what
" words, leſt things ſpecial good and principal, being
" inwrapped in ignorance of the words, ſhould not
" perfectly come to the mind and to the intelli-
" gence of men; or elſe things being nothing to
" the purpoſe, nor very meet to be offered unto
" God, ſhould have the leſs effect with God, being
" the diſtributor of all gifts [131]." In a word, Henry was determined to reduce all his ſubjects to a moſt correct and perfect uniformity in all things, even the moſt trivial, that related to religion. Some of them, for example, kept St. Mark's day as a faſt, and others of them kept it as a feaſt. He was much offended at this, and publiſhed a royal injunction to all his loving ſubjects, to eat fleſh on St. Mark's day [132]. This was not one of his moſt diſagreeable injunctions.

After the fall of Cromwell earl of Eſſex, archbiſhop Cranmer was in a dangerous ſituation, and had a difficult part to act. As he knew the animoſity of the popiſh party againſt him, and their great influence at court, he was not ignorant of his danger, and endeavoured to guard againſt it, by acting with the greateſt caution, and by living as privately as his ſtation would permit. But all his caution and privacy would not have preſerved him, if the Cranmer in danger.

[131] Wilkin. p. 873. [132] Ibid. p. 860.

Cent. XVI. king had not entertained ſuch a ſtrong conviction of his integrity, and ſo grateful a ſenſe of his ſervices, as could not be ſhaken by all the efforts of his enemies. Of this it may not be improper to give one example. After ſeveral plots, equally artful and iniquitous againſt the archbiſhop, had miſcarried, the duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other popiſh members of the privy council, waited upon the king, and made a heavy complaint againſt the archbiſhop, "That he "and his learned men had ſo infected the whole "realm with their unſavoury doctrine, that three "parts of the land were become abominable here-"tics; therefore they deſired that the archbiſhop "might be committed to the Tower until this "might be examined." When the king ſeemed unwilling to grant their deſire, they repreſented, "That the archbiſhop being one of the privy "council, no man dared to object matter againſt "him, unleſs he were firſt committed to durance; "which being done, men would be bold to tell the "truth, and ſay their conſciences. The king at "length conſented that they might bring the arch-"biſhop before the council next morning, and "examine him; and if they found cauſe, they "might commit him to the Tower." Henry, probably repenting of what he had done, ſent a meſſenger to the archbiſhop about midnight, deſiring him to come and ſpeak with him immediately. On his arriving, the king told him of the complaint that had been made, and the conſent that he had given, and aſked him, "What ſay you, "my

" my lord; have I done well or ill?" The primate humbly thanked the king for giving him this warning, and declared he was content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, if he might have a fair trial, and hoped that his majesty would take care to have him fairly tried. " O " Lord God! (cried the king;) what fond simplicity have you to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you? Do you not know, that " when they have you once in prison, three or four " false knaves will soon be procured to witness " against you, and condemn you? No, not so, " my lord; I have a better regard to you than to " suffer your enemies to overthrow you. Appear " before the council; require them to produce your " accusers; and if they refuse, shew them this " ring, (giving him a ring,) which they well know " that I use for no other purpose, but to call mat- " ters from the council into mine own hands." He was sent for by the council early next morning; and when he arrived, he was not admitted into the council chamber, but obliged to stand about an hour in the anti-chamber among servants. The king being informed of this by the physician, doctor Bulls, was much offended. " Have they served " my lord so? (said he.) It is well enough; I " shall talk with them by and by." When the archbishop was called in to the council, he was told, that complaints had been exhibited to the king and them, that he, and others by his permission, had infected the whole realm with heresy, and that it

Cent. XVI.

Cent. XVI. was the king's pleaſure that he ſhould be committed to the Tower in order to his trial. When Cranmer had required to ſee his accuſers face to face before he was committed, and was refuſed, he ſaid, "I "am ſorry, my lords, that you have compelled me "to appeal from you to the king, who by this "token (preſenting the ring) hath taken this mat-"ter into his own hands." This put a ſtop to their career. They waited in a body on the king to reſtore his ring, and reſign the cauſe into his hands. He received them with a ſtern countenance, reproved them ſeverely for their contemptuous treatment of the archbiſhop, and then added, "I would you ſhould well underſtand, that I ac-"count my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man "towards me, as ever was prelate in this realm, "and one to whom I am many ways beholden by "the faith I owe unto God; (laying his hand on "his heart;) and whoever loveth me, will regard "him on that account." This gave ſuch a check to Cranmer's enemies, that they made no more attempts againſt him during this reign[133].

Prayers in Engliſh. This ſtriking proof of the ſteadineſs of the king's friendſhip encouraged Cranmer to attempt the reformation of ſome of the many abſurd ſuperſtitions that ſtill remained. He proceeded, however, with great prudence and caution, and never attempted any change till he had firſt convinced the king of its propriety, and obtained his permiſſion and command. He had long wiſhed to ſee the prayers of the church in Engliſh, that the people might pray

[133] Strype's Cranmer, ch. 28.

to

to God in language they underſtood, and might know for what they prayed. The king was preparing to invade France in perſon, A. D. 1544, and prayers and proceſſions were to be made as uſual for his ſucceſs; and the archbiſhop embraced this opportunity to convince him, that the people would join in theſe prayers with much greater fervency, if they were in Engliſh, than they could do, if they were in an unknown tongue. By the king's permiſſion, he compoſed a number of prayers in Engliſh, which he delivered to his majeſty for his peruſal, who, having approved of them, ſent them back to the primate, commanding him to cauſe them to be uſed in all the churches of his dioceſe, and to ſend copies of them to all the biſhops of his province with a ſimilar command. This royal injunction was probably compoſed by Cranmer, and is couched in very ſtrong expreſſive language. One reaſon aſſigned for this great innovation, of praying in their native tongue, is thus expreſſed: "That "the people might feel the godly taſte thereof, "and godly and joyouſly with thanks receive, em- "brace, and frequent the ſame." This injunction was dated June 11th. About two months after, when the navy was ready to ſail, the council ſent a ſimilar injunction to the archbiſhop, commanding him to order prayers and proceſſions twice a week in all the churches of his province for ſucceſs and victory to his majeſty's arms, and that the prayers ſhould be in Engliſh [134]. Theſe injunctions gave great joy to the friends of the reformation, who Cent. XVI.

[134] Strype's Cranmer, ch. 29.

Cent. XVI. began to hope, that they would ſoon ſee the whole ſervice of the church in Engliſh.

Ceremonies aboliſhed.

The king was prevailed upon at the ſame time to aboliſh ſome of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies which ſtill remained; ſuch as watching and ringing bells all night on the vigil of All-hallows; that the images in churches, and the croſs, ſhould not be covered with vails in the time of Lent, as they had been formerly: that none ſhould kneel or creep to the croſs on Palm Sunday, or any other time. The royal injunction for aboliſhing theſe ceremonies was procured by the application of the archbiſhop, with the biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, and the execution of it, as uſual, was committed to the archbiſhop [135].

Cranmer had for ſome time been engaged in another work for promoting the reformation and ſettlement of the church. This was the reviſal of the canon law, or rather forming a new code of eccleſiaſtical laws, for the government of the church of England. The canon law had long been eſteemed almoſt of divine authority, and far more excellent and obligatory than any other human laws. In that law, the authority and power of the pope was carried to a moſt extravagant and impious height; and the laws of kings and princes, that were contrary to the decrees and canons of the biſhop of Rome, were of no force. After the abrogation, therefore, of the papal power, and the many other changes that had been made contrary to the canons, the authority of the canon law could not be acknow-

[135] Strype's Cranmer, p. 134.

ledged

ledged in England; and it was not proper that the church ſhould remain long without a ſyſtem of laws ſuited to her circumſtances. Accordingly the king gave a commiſſion to thirty-two perſons, (A. D. 1543,) ſixteen of the ſpirituality, and ſixteen of the temporality, to examine all canons, conſtitutions, and ordinances; and to eſtabliſh all ſuch laws eccleſiaſtical as ſhall by the king and them be thought convenient to be uſed in all ſpiritual courts; and this commiſſion was confirmed by parliament[136]. This work was not finiſhed till A.D. 1545, when it was preſented to the king for his confirmation. But he either refuſed or neglected to confirm it; and this ſyſtem of laws was not eſtabliſhed till the ſucceeding reign. Various reaſons have been aſſigned for this; but they are only conjectures. Cent. XVI.

No further progreſs was made in the reformation of the church in the ſhort remainder of this reign. On the contrary, the perſecutions on the cruel act of the ſix articles were renewed, and ſeveral perſons were burnt, A. D. 1546, for denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. The moſt remarkable of theſe ſufferers was Mrs. Anne Aſkew, a lady of an opulent and ancient family in Lincolnſhire, and, which was much more to her honour, of very uncommon ingenuity, learning, piety, and virtue. She was unhappily married to a Mr. Kyme, againſt her own inclination, by her father's authority. Her huſband, who was a zealous papiſt, treated her ſo ill, that ſhe was obliged to leave his houſe, and went to London. Having expreſſed Perſecution.

[136] Statutes, 43 Hen. VIII. cap. 15.

Cent. XVI. her diſbelief of the corporal preſence, ſhe was apprehended, impriſoned, and examined by the council. At her examination ſhe anſwered many queſtions with ſuch acuteneſs, as ſurpriſed her perſecutors. Sir Martin Bowes, lord Mayor of London, thus addreſſed her: "Fooliſh woman, ſayeſt thou "that the prieſts cannot make the body of Chriſt?" —"I have read," ſaid ſhe, "that God made man, "but I never read that man made God."—"If a "mouſe," aſked his lordſhip, "eat the bread after "it was conſecrated, what ſhall become of the "mouſe? What ſayeſt thou, fooliſh woman?"— "What ſhall become of her ſay you, my lord?"— "I ſay," replied he, "that that mouſe is damned." "—Alas!" ſaid ſhe, "Alas, poor mouſe!" His lordſhip did not think fit to aſk her any more queſtions. She was tried by the commiſſioners for executing the act of the ſix articles, found guilty, and condemned to the flames. After her condemnation it was diſcovered that ſhe had converſed with the ducheſs of Suffolk, the counteſs of Hertford, and ſome other ladies, who were ſuſpected of favouring the reformation, and againſt whom they wiſhed for evidence. She was therefore removed from Newgate to the tower, and there interrogated concerning theſe ladies, but would diſcover nothing. She was then laid on the rack and tortured, in the preſence, and, as it is ſaid, by the hands of the chancellor, lord Wriothesley, with ſo much ſeverity, that it deprived her of the uſe of her limbs, but extorted no diſcovery. She was carried to Smithfield and placed at the ſtake in a chair, and

and there reduced to aſhes. She ſuffered with amazing cheerfulneſs; and one who was preſent at her execution ſays, ſhe had an angel's countenance and a ſmiling face. John Laſſels, a gentleman of a good family and fortune, who had a place at court; Nicholas Bellenian a prieſt, and John Adams a taylor, were burnt at the ſame place and time. The imaginary crime for which all theſe perſons ſuffered this cruel death, was denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar; a doctrine for which Henry continued to be a flaming zealot to his laſt moments, which were now approaching. He died January 6th, A. D. 1547[137]. Cent. XVI.

The reformation of the church of England hath no concern with the perſonal character of this prince, or the motives of his conduct. It muſt ſtand or fall by its own merits. It was left by Henry in a very imperfect ſtate, but was happily carried much farther in the ſhort reign of his amiable and virtuous ſon Edward VI.

CHAP. II. SECT. III.

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Scotland from the Acceſſion of James IV. A. D. 1488, *to the Death of James* V. A. D. 1542.

THE eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Scotland in the reign of James IV. contains very few events that merit a place in hiſtory, or at leaſt very few ſuch events have come to our knowledge. The Cent. XV.

[137] Strype's Mem. vol. i. ch. 31. Burnet, p. 341.

truth

Cent. XV.

truth is, that materials for a complete hiſtory of the church of Scotland before the reformation, either do not exiſt, or are ſo ſcattered and ſecreted that it is impoſſible to collect them. Nor have we much reaſon to regret this. The hiſtory of this church in thoſe benighted times, when ignorance, credulity, and ſuperſtition, with an abject ſubmiſſion to the imperious dictates of the biſhop of Rome, prevailed, could afford us but little rational inſtruction or entertainment. It will not be neceſſary, therefore, to divide this period into two ſections, as the whole may be comprehended within moderate limits.

Shevez primate.

William Shevez was archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland at the acceſſion of James IV. He appears to have acted a very bad part in the proſecution of his predeceſſor Patrick Graham, who had the merit to procure the erection of his ſee into an archbiſhopric, and thereby put an end to the pretenſions of the archbiſhops of York to the primacy of the church of Scotland, which had been very troubleſome. As the arts by which Shevez obtained his promotion were not very honourable, ſo we hear of no good that he did after he had obtained it. His pride engaged him in a violent conteſt with Walter Blackater, the firſt archbiſhop of Glaſgow, by his refuſing to acknowledge him in that character. This conteſt, after having diſturbed the peace of the country for ſome time, was at length compromiſed. Glaſgow was acknowledged to be an archbiſhopric; the biſhoprics of Galloway, Argyle, and the iſles, aſ-

ſigned

ſigned for its province, and the primacy reſerved to St. Andrew's. Archbiſhop Shevez died, and was buried at St. Andrew's, A.D. 1496 [138]. Cent. XV.

The opinions of Wickliff were early introduced into Scotland, and in ſome places they took deep root and continued long. To eradicate theſe noxious weeds, (as they were then eſteemed,) archbiſhop Blackater held a provincial ſynod at Glaſgow, A.D. 1494, at which the king and council were preſent. Before this ſynod, George Campbell of Ceſnock, Adam Read of Barſkining, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemac, Helen Chambers, lady Pokelly, Iſabel Chalmers, lady Stairs, with about twenty others of inferior rank, in the counties of Kyle and Cunningham, were arrainged for hereſy. The hereſies of which theſe perſons, who were commonly called the Lollards of Kyle, were accuſed, were the ſame with the doctrines of Wickliff, and nearly the ſame with thoſe of all the proteſtant churches, intermixed with a few abſurd opinions, which they had raſhly adopted, or which were falſely imputed to them by their enemies. Adam Read made a bold and ſpirited defence for himſelf and the others accuſed, which expoſed the malice and ignorance of their accuſers, and rendered them equally odious and ridiculous. This, however, would not have ſaved them, if the king, who had a friendſhip for ſome of the gentlemen, had not interpoſed, and put a ſtop to the proſecution [139]. It is much to the honour of James IV. that he was an enemy to perſe-

[138] Spottiſwood, p. 60, 61.

[139] Knox, p. 2, &c.

cution,

Cent. XVI.

cution, and that not ſo much as one perſon ſuffered for his religious opinions in his reign [140].

Archbiſhops of St. Andrew's;

Archbiſhop Shevez was ſucceeded in the ſee of St. Andrew's by the king's brother, James Stewart, duke of Roſs, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ardmannak, lord of Brechen and Nevers, commendator of Dumfermline, and chancellor of the kingdom. Of this high-born prelate, who was loaded with ſo many honours, we know nothing, but that he died young, A. D. 1503. He was ſucceeded in his archbiſhopric by Alexander Stewart, the king's natural ſon, a boy of about eight years of age. Though this nomination was contrary to ſeveral canons, the pope, for political reaſons, confirmed it; for which the king wrote him a letter of thanks, full of the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude; in which, among many other flattering things, he ſays, "We "have often ſent our letters to you, moſt bleſſed "father, but never in vain. It was one ſtrong "proof of your paternal affection to me, that ſoon "after your exaltation to the apoſtleſhip, you ſent "me a full remiſſion of all my ſins; which was the "more valuable, becauſe the ſalvation of the ſoul "was more precious than all other things. But "to that ineſtimable favour you have now added "another, by committing the charge of the famous "archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's to my ſon, though "he is but a child [141]." This was certainly intended for a compliment, though it was really a reproach. This youthful prelate, the pupil and favourite of Eraſmus, fell, with his royal father, in

[140] Calderwood's Hiſt. MSS. vol. i. p. 41.

[141] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 3.

the fatal battle of Flodden, in the eighteenth year of his age. Cent. XVI.

Robert Blackater, the firſt archbiſhop of Glaſgow, died as he was going on a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, A. D. 1509, and was ſucceeded in that ſee by James Beaton, of the ancient family of the Beatons of Balfour in Fife. This prelate roſe rapidly in the church, was deeply engaged in all affairs of the ſtate, and ſhared in the good and bad fortune of the parties with whom he was connected [142]. of Glaſgow.

Another prelate flouriſhed in this and the preceding reign, who is well entitled to a place in hiſtory, on account of his talents, his virtues, and his ſervices and benefactions to his country. This was William Elphingſton biſhop of Aberdeen. He was of an opulent mercantile family in Glaſgow, and one of the firſt *eleves* of the univerſity of that city. From thence he went to Paris, where, after he had ſtudied ſeveral years, he read lectures on the civil and canon law to crowded audiences with great applauſe. On his return to his native country he was promoted in the church, and employed in ſeveral embaſſies both by James III. and James IV.; in which he acquitted himſelf with ability and ſucceſs. His firſt biſhopric was that of Roſs, from whence he was tranſlated to Aberdeen. In this city he founded an univerſity, in which he built, furniſhed, and endowed the firſt college. He alſo built the bridge over the river Dee [143]. Theſe were great, expenſive, and uſeful works, Biſhop Elphingſton.

[142] See Biograph. Britan. art. James Beaton.

[143] Spottiſwood. p. 105.

from

Cent. XVI. from which his country derived great and permanent advantages. He lived admired and beloved for his charity, hoſpitality, public ſpirit, and other virtues, to a very advanced age. He was ſo deeply affected with the deplorable diſaſter at Flodden, that he never recovered his wonted cheerfulneſs, and died the year after, A.D. 1514. To embalm the memory of great and good men, the benefactors and ornaments of their country, is the moſt pleaſant and uſeful province of the hiſtorian.

Aſſembly of the clergy.

The popes, in the times we are now delineating, conſidered all the clergy in the Chriſtian world as their immediate ſubjects, and claimed and exerciſed the right of taxing them at their pleaſure. At this the clergy ſometimes murmured and remonſtrated, but were compelled to ſubmit and pay theſe papal taxes. The pope ſent a legate, named Bajomanus, into Scotland, A.D. 1512, who held a ſynod of the clergy, both regular and ſecular, in the Dominican convent at Edinburgh, and demanded an annual tax of two ſhillings in the pound on every benefice of forty pounds a year and upwards. To this demand the ſynod conſented, but with much reluctance; and it continued to be levied till the reformation by the name of Bajomanus's tax [144].

Competition for offices.

By the great ſlaughter of the nobility at Flodden, many of the principal offices, both in church and ſtate, became vacant, and the ſurviving clergy and nobles, inſtead of uniting together for the defence of their country, engaged in the moſt violent com-

[144] Leſly, p. 356.

petitions

petitions for theſe vacant offices. For the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's three powerful competitors appeared; Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, and afterwards biſhop of Dunkeld, was nominated by the queen regent, and ſupported by the Douglaſſes, who put him in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Andrew's[145]. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrew's, was elected by the convent, and ſupported by the Hepburns, a numerous and powerful clan. By his office of prior he was adminiſtrator of the ſee, and collected the rents of it during the vacancy; and by the aſſiſtance of the clergy and people he expelled the ſervants of his rival, the biſhop of Dunkeld, and got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Andrew's, in which he placed a garriſon. The third competitor was Andrew Foreman, biſhop of Moray in Scotland, archbiſhop of Bourges in France, and commendator of ſeveral rich abbies. Foreman was in ſuch high favour with King James IV. that he obtained letters from him under the privy ſeal, permitting him to ſolicit the pope for any benefice that became vacant in Scotland, any law to the contrary notwithſtanding[146]. Of this permiſſion he now availed himſelf, and ſolicited ſo effectually at the court of Rome that the pope Leo X. promoted him to the vacant arbiſhopric, and to all the abbies the late archbiſhop had poſſeſſed; and alſo appointed him his *legatus a latere* in Scotland. He was then on an embaſſy at the court of France; but as ſoon as he had received Cent. XVI.

145 Leſly, p. 374.

146 Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 110.

Cent. XVI. his bulls from Rome he returned to Scotland to proſecute his claims. It appears from an authentic letter of the queen regent to the pope, that ſhe had firſt nominated that excellent prelate William Elphingſton, biſhop of Aberdeen to the archbiſhopric, and that he had conſented to accept of it; but his death prevented his promotion [147]. In another letter the arrangement that was firſt intended by the court is thus delineated: "That William "biſhop of Aberdeen ſhould be tranſlated to St. "Andrew's; that George abbot of Holyrood-"houſe ſhould be biſhop of Aberdeen; Patrick "abbot of Cambuſkenneth ſhould be abbot of "Holyrood-houſe; that the abbey of Cambuſken-"neth ſhould be given *in commendam* to Andrew "biſhop of Caithneſs; the abbey of Arbroath to "Gavin Douglas; Dumfermlin to James Hep-"burn: Inchefferay to Alexander Stewart; Glen-"luce to the biſhop of Liſmore; and Coldingham "to David Hume [148]." But this arrangement was diſconcerted by the death of the biſhop of Aberdeen, and the ſubſequent conteſt for the primacy.

Letters to the pope. The queen regent and nobility were greatly intereſted in the diſpoſal of theſe beneſices. This appears from ſeveral letters written by them to the pope and cardinals with uncommon warmth. In theſe letters they put the pope in mind, "that ſe-"veral of his predeceſſors had granted this privi-"lege to the kings of Scotland by their bulls; "that they and their ſucceſſors would never grant "any vacant prelacies in Scotland, till they had

147 Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 184. 148 Ibid. p. 199.

"waited

" waited eight months for the royal nomination, Cent. XVI.
" which they would confirm." They declare in the ſtrongeſt terms, " that they would not ſuffer " their infant king to be deprived of that privilege. " They ſpeak of biſhop Foreman with great aſpe- " rity, as an upſtart, and enemy to his king and " country, for which the parliament had juſtly de- " prived him of all his offices, baniſhed him the " kingdom, and would never ſuffer him to re- " turn [149]." But the pope paid no regard to all this warmth and threatening.

If the learned, virtuous, and amiable Gavin Douglas was ever a competitor for the primacy, as our hiſtorians affirm, he ſoon quitted the field to the other two competitors. When biſhop Foreman arrived in Scotland, both the court and the country were ſo much incenſed againſt him, that he could hardly find any of the nobles willing to eſpouſe his cauſe and publiſh his bulls. He was of the family of the Forcmans of Hutton in the Merſe, who had long been partiſans of the Humes. He applied therefore to the lord, then one of the moſt power- ful noblemen in the kingdom, and prevailed on him to publiſh his bulls at the croſs of Edinburgh. This produced a great change in his favour; and many, both of the clergy and laity, who had a high vene- ration for the authority of the pope, favoured his cauſe. Things were in this ſtate, when John duke of Albany arrived in Scotland in June, A. D. 1515. He found the nation divided into two parties, and ſo warmly engaged, that he dreaded a civil war. Accom- modation.

[149] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 200—211.

Cent. XVI. To prevent this, he propoſed an accommodation, which he at length accompliſhed. Biſhop Foreman, who was very rich, and fonder of power than of money, made great ſacrifices to his rival to reſign his pretenſions to the primacy. He reſigned the biſhopric of Moray, the abbies of Arbroath, Drybrough, and Kilwinning, which were divided among Hepburn's friends: he allowed Hepburn to retain all the rents of the archbiſhopric which he had collected, and gave him a penſion, it is ſaid, of three thouſand crowns a year [150]. To himſelf he reſerved only the archbiſhopric and the abbey of Dumfermline. The duke of Albany wrote an account of this accommodation to the pope; in which he beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on archbiſhop Foreman, for the generous ſacrifices he had made to preſerve the peace of his country, and earneſtly intreated his holineſs to make him a cardinal, which Julius II. his predeceſſor had promiſed to do, in a letter to James IV. [151]

The encroachments of the popes of thoſe times on the rights both of private and of royal patrons, were productive of many inconveniencies and quarrels. The conteſt about the archbiſhopric was hardly ended, when another of the ſame kind commenced, on the death of George Brown, biſhop of Dunkeld. The chapter choſe Andrew Stewart, ſon to the earl of Athole, and put him in poſſeſſion of the caſtles, houſes, and lands belonging to the ſee. But Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, was appointed biſhop by the pope. Stewart,

[150] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. 1. p. 217. [151] Ibid.

ſupported

ſupported by his father, kept poſſeſſion of the lands and caſtles. The regent interpoſed, and with much difficulty brought about an accommodation. Douglas reſigned two benefices to Stewart, and obtained the biſhopric. The duke of Albany gave an account of this tranſaction to the pope, by a letter dated at Edinburgh September 8th, A.D. 1516; deſiring him to ratify the contract of agreement, to prevent all doubts of its validity [152]. In all theſe conteſts the papal candidate prevailed. Cent. XVI.

Archbiſhop Foreman enjoyed the high ſtation for which he had ſtruggled ſo hard and paid ſo dear, only about ſeven years. He was a prelate who poſſeſſed very uncommon talents for and dexterity in buſineſs, which gained him a high degree of favour with two ſucceſſive kings of Scotland, James III. and IV.; with two ſucceſſive popes, Julius II. and Leo X.; and with that wiſe prince, Lewis XII. of France; who all loaded him with benefices. Julius II. gave him the following character, in a letter to James IV.: "Your ambaſſador, Andrew biſhop of Moray, hath acted, and "ſtill continues to act, with ſo much fidelity, prudence, diligence, and dexterity, that he hath given "me the higheſt ſatisfaction; and I think him "worthy of a more eminent ſtation in the church. "For this reaſon, and to gratify your majeſty, I "have requeſted the pope to make him a cardinal "at the next nomination of cardinals [153]." The death of the pope prevented his obtaining that dignity. Like his royal maſter James IV. he was an

[152] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 222. [153] Ibid. p. 138.

Cent. XVI. enemy to perſecution, and none ſuffered for religion during his incumbency.

Conteſt. Almoſt every vacancy of the ſee of St. Andrew's produced a conteſt between the courts of Scotland and of Rome. The kings of Scotland claimed a right to preſent to all the vacant prelacies in their dominions within eight months, and that the popes ſhould grant to their preſentees the bulls neceſſary to their inſtalment. But the popes frequently filled up the vacancies without waiting for the royal preſentation. This was a direct violation of the privilege of preſenting within eight months, that had been granted and confirmed to the kings of Scotland by many bulls. But the popes were now become ſo arbitrary, that they broke through every barrier that limited their power. On this occaſion two competitors for the primacy took the field: James Beaton archbiſhop of Glaſgow, chancellor of the kingdom, preſented by the regent; and Gavin Douglas biſhop of Dunkeld, who ſolicited and expected the papal appointment, by the great influence of Henry VIII. at the court of Rome. To counteract that influence great efforts were made. A letter was ſent to the pope, in the name of the king, the regent, and the three eſtates of the kingdom; acquainting him, that Gavin Douglas biſhop of Dunkeld had fled to their enemy the king of England; for which they had baniſhed him by an act of parliament, and earneſtly intreating his holineſs not to liſten to any application that might be made for appointing him archbiſhop of St. An-

St. Andrew's [154]. His rival Beaton, in his capacity of chancellor, wrote a letter in the name of the privy council to Chriſtiern king of Denmark; requeſting him to give directions to his ambaſſador at the court of Rome, to oppoſe the elevation of the biſhop of Dunkeld to the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's and abbey of Dumfermline [155]. How this conteſt would have ended is uncertain; if both competitors had lived to proſecute their claims. But it was terminated by the death of the biſhop of Dunkeld: and Beaton was tranſlated from Glaſgow to St. Andrew's, A. D. 1523, without any further oppoſition. Cent. XVI.

Soon after this, the cruel ſpirit of perſecution, which had been long reſtrained, revived, and raged with no little violence. The firſt who fell a ſacrifice to this infernal ſpirit, was Mr. Patrick Hamilton, a youth of noble birth, and nearly related to the royal family, being nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother. Having early diſcovered a taſte for learning, the abbey of Ferne, and ſome other benefices, were given him, to enable him to proſecute his ſtudies. With this view he went to the univerſity of Marpurg in Germany, where he converſed with Francis Lambert, and became acquainted with the doctrines of Luther, which he cordially embraced, and haſtened home to communicate the knowledge of them to his countrymen. On his arrival the warmth of his zeal made him declaim with vehemence againſt the corruptions and errors of the Perſecution.

[154] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 328. [155] Ibid. p. 333.

Cent.XVI. church. His eloquence, his youth, and noble birth, attracted crowded audiences, who heard him with admiration, and greedily imbibed his principles. This alarmed the fears, and inflamed the rage of the clergy. Archbiſhop Beaton invited him to a friendly conference in St. Andrew's. At his arrival there he was commited to the care of a friar Campbell, for his inſtruction and converſion. He was much an overmatch for his inſtructor, whoſe real object was to diſcover and inform his enemies of his opinions. When this was accompliſhed, and the young king was ſent on a pilgrimage to St. Dulhacks in Roſs, they ſeized Mr. Hamilton in his bed at midnight, and carried him to the caſtle. Next forenoon, February 28th, A. D. 1527, he was brought before the primate, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, three other biſhops, many abbots, priors, doctors, lawyers, profeſſors of the univerſity, and a prodigious crowd of ſpectators, in the cathedral, and accuſed of holding and propagating the damnable hereſies of Martin Luther. He did not deny the charge, but defended the doctrines he had taught with many arguments, which ſerved only to render his condemnation more certain. He was accordingly condemned as an obſtinate heretic, delivered to the ſecular magiſtrate, carried from the bar to the ſtake, and burnt with circumſtances of peculiar cruelty. Thus periſhed this learned, virtuous, and noble youth, in the twenty-third year of his age. The ſeverity of his ſufferings, and the fortitude with which he bore them, excited the pity and admiration of the great body of the ſpectators; but bigotry

bigotry and ſelf-intereſt had ſo hardened the hearts of many of the clergy, that they applauded this barbarous deed as a moſt meritorious diſplay of chriſtian zeal. The univerſity of Louvain alſo wrote a letter to the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and his aſſeſſors, in which they loaded them with praiſes for burning ſo great a heretic; and exhorted them to perſevere, till they had extirpated all the heretics in their country [156]. Cent. XVI.

Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum.

To ſuch black deeds doth ſuperſtition prompt.

The clergy ſoon found that they had no reaſon to boaſt of the good policy, or good effects, of their ſeverity. The propoſitions for which Mr. Hamilton had been condemned to the flames became public, awakened curioſity, and were examined by many of the clergy and laity, by the youth at the univerſity, and even by the monks in their cells, who had never heard or thought of them before. The general reſult of this examination was, that they appeared neither ſo abſurd, nor ſo pernicious, as to merit ſo ſevere a puniſhment, and not a few were fully convinced of their truth, and cordially embraced them. This ſoon appeared even in the city of St. Andrew's. Friar Alexander Seaton, confeſſor to the king, preached ſeveral ſermons in that city in the Lent after Mr. Hamilton's execution. In theſe ſermons he inſiſted only on the neceſſity of repentance, faith, and holineſs of life, without ever mentioning purgatory, pilgrimages, miracles, worſhip of ſaints and images, the

[156] Fox, p. 888.

uſual

Cent. XVI. uſual ſubjects of the ſermons of thoſe times. He alſo uſed ſome expreſſions which ſeemed to reflect on the negligence and vices of the clergy. The uncommon ſtrain of theſe ſermons raiſed a ſuſpicion that he inclined to hereſy; and after he had left the city, another friar was ſet up to preach againſt his doctrines. When he heard this he returned, and in ſome other ſermons confirmed all he had advanced. He was then brought before the archbiſhop, who charged him with having ſaid, that biſhops ought to preach, and that thoſe who did not preach were dumb dogs. "Your informers, my lord, (ſaid "Seaton,) muſt have been very ignorant perſons, "who could not diſtinguiſh between the apoſtle "Paul, and the prophet Iſaiah, and friar Seaton. "I ſaid, indeed, that Paul exhorted biſhops to "preach, and that Iſaiah called thoſe who did not "preach dumb dogs. But of myſelf, I ſaid no-"thing. If that is hereſy, Paul and Iſaiah are the "heretics." The primate was nettled at this ſmart reply; but he concealed his reſentment till he had alienated the king from his confeſſor, which was not a difficult taſk. That young prince had been debauched by thoſe who had the charge of his education, and unhappily indulged himſelf in vague amours; for which his confeſſor had reproved him ſharply. Father Seaton obſerving a change in the king's manner of receiving him, took the alarm, and made his eſcape to Berwick. From thence he wrote a long expoſtulatory letter to the king, in which he offered to return and vindicate his doctrines, if he might have a fair trial before impartial

judges. Having received an anſwer to this letter, he proceeded to London, where he found an aſylum in the family of the duke of Suffolk [157]. Cent. XVI.

The death of Mr. Hamilton, and the flight of friar Seaton, did not deter others from adopting their opinions, and expoſing themſelves to the ſame dangers and ſufferings: on the contrary, it ſo much increaſed the number and boldneſs of their followers, that the church hiſtory of Scotland in the remainder of this reign conſiſts of little elſe but the trials and burnings of heretics. To give a minute detail of all thoſe ſcenes of horror, would be very painful to the writer, and could not be very pleaſant to the reader. It may be ſufficient therefore to ſay, that many, both of the clergy and laity, were committed to the flames for hereſy; that many others, eminent for their virtue and learning, abandoned their country to avoid the ſame fate; and that not a few wounded their conſciences by recanting their opinions, to preſerve their lives [158].

James Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, had paid great attention to the education and promotion of his nephew David Beaton. Beſides ſeveral benefices which he procured for him while he was ſtill a young man, he reſigned the rich abbey of Aberbrothock in his favour; and the pope, at the requiſition of the king, confirmed the tranſaction [159]. He was a great favourite of the duke of Albany during his regency, and afterwards a greater favourite of the young king, who appointed him Cardinal Beaton.

[157] Spottiſwood, p. 65. [158] Ibid. Knox, p. 16, &c.
[159] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 339.

lord

Cent. XVI. lord privy ſeal A. D. 1528, from which time he was his chief confident and prime miniſter. He was ſent upon ſeveral embaſſies to the court of France, where he negotiated both the kings marriages, and ingratiated himſelf ſo much with Francis, that he granted him ſome ſingular favours, and among others the rich biſhopric of Merepoix. His uncle becoming infirm in his old age, he appointed him his co-adjutor, and devolved upon him all his power; the pope created him a cardinal December 20th, A. D. 1539. The old archbiſhop died A. D. 1539, and diſpoſed of all his benefices by his teſtament, and particularly of his archbiſhopric, to his nephew and co-adjutor. This deſtination in other circumſtances would have been diſregarded; but being perfectly agreeable both to the king and the pope, it was confirmed [160]. Such was the riſe of this aſpiring prelate to a power almoſt unlimited, which he employed to the moſt pernicious purpoſes.

Perſecution. The pope had fixed his eyes on the younger Beaton ſome time before this, as a proper inſtrument to cruſh all heretics and hereſies in Scotland, and with that view had favoured his promotion. A more proper inſtrument could not have been choſen for ſuch a work. His uncle, the late primate, had been a cruel perſecutor; but it was ſuſpected that he felt ſome little reluctance to that horrid buſineſs. But the cardinal was liable to no ſuch weakneſs. He was a cool, deliberate, unrelenting tyrant, who took a pride and pleaſure in the moſt atrocious

[160] See *Biograph. Britan.* art. D. Beaton.

acts

acts of cruelty. To render him ſtill more formidable, pope Paul III. appointed him his *legatus a latere* in Scotland. Being now armed with all the powers he was capable of receiving, he made haſte to apply them to the purpoſe for which they were deſigned; and he reſolved to do this in a way that would ſtrike thoſe who knew they were ſuſpected or obnoxious with the greateſt terror. In May, A. D. 1540, he went from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's with a more numerous and ſplendid retinue than any former primate, attended by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, by five other biſhops, by ſeveral abbots, priors, and principal clergymen; by the earls of Arran, Huntley, Marſhal, and Montroſe; and by many other lords and gentlemen. To all the great men of the clergy and laity aſſembled in the cathedral May 28th, the cardinal delivered an oration, in which he complained of the great increaſe of hereſy in all parts of the kingdom, and even in the king's court; repreſented the fatal conſequences with which this would be attended, and the neceſſity of inflicting the ſevereſt puniſhments on all who were found guilty of that greateſt of all crimes [101]. Cent. XVI.

The cardinal having thus publiſhed his ſcheme for the extirpation of hereſy, by burning all heretics, immediately proceeded to put it in execution. In the ſame aſſembly, ſir John Borthwick was accuſed of entertaining and propagating ſeveral heretical opinions, and diſperſing heretical books. The heretical opinions of which he was accuſed, were

[101] Buchan. lib. xiv. Spottiſwood, p. 69.

the

Cent. XVI. the ſame with thoſe that were profeſſed by the other reformers of thoſe times, which are well known, and need not be here enumerated. Among the heretical books, for the diſperſing of which he was accuſed, the New Teſtament in Engliſh was the firſt. Sir John, who was commonly called captain Borthwick, had concealed himſelf ſo carefully, that his enemies could not diſcover the place of his retreat; and as he did not appear in court to anſwer to the accuſation brought againſt him, he was declared an obſtinate heretic, and ſentenced to be burnt as ſoon as he could be apprehended; and all perſons were prohibited to entertain him, under the pain of excommunication. He was burnt in effigy in St. Andrew's the ſame day, and in Edinburgh about a week after. Thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in Scotland, he made his eſcape into England, where he publiſhed a defence of the doctrines for which he had been condemned, in which he expoſed the cruelty and other vices of the cardinal and clergy of Scotland with great freedom [162]. He was well received by Henry VIII. and employed in his negotiations with the proteſtant princes of Germany.

Dean Thomas Forreſt. The cardinal was more ſucceſsful in his next attempt to burnt heretics. Dean Thomas Forreſt, canon of St. Columbs, and vicar of Dollar, preached every Sunday on the epiſtle or goſpel of the day; for which, and ſome other ſingularities, he was accuſed of hereſy to his ordinary George Chrichton, biſhop of Dunkeld. The biſhop, when the dean

[162] Fox, p. 1147, &c.

appeared

appeared before him, addreſſed him in this manner: Cent. XVI.
" My joy dean Thomas, I am informed that you
" preach the epiſtle and goſpel every Sunday to
" your pariſhioners, and that you do not take the
" beſt cow and the beſt cloth from them, which is
" very prejudicial to other churchmen; and there-
" fore, my joy dean Thomas, I would you to take
" your cow and your cloth as other churchmen do.
" It is too much to preach every Sunday; for in
" ſo doing you may make the people think that
" we ſhould preach likewiſe: it is enough for you,
" when you find any good epiſtle, or good goſpel,
" that ſetteth forth the liberties of holy church, to
" preach that, and let the reſt alone." To this ſage admonition of his biſhop, dean Thomas made this anſwer: " I think, my lord, that none of my
" pariſhioners will complain that I do not take the
" cow and the cloth; but I know that they will
" gladly give me any thing that they have; and
" they know that I will gladly give them any thing
" that I have. There is no diſcord amongſt us.
" Your lordſhip ſayeth, it is too much to preach
" every Sunday: I think it is too little; and I wiſh
" that your lordſhip did the like." " Nay, nay,
" dean Thomas, (ſaid the biſhop,) we were not
" ordained to preach." " Your lordſhip (ſaid the
" dean) directs me, when I meet with a good
" epiſtle, or a good goſpel, to preach upon it. I
" have read both the Old and New Teſtament,
" and I have never met with a bad epiſtle, or a bad
" goſpel: but if your lordſhip will ſhew me which
" are the good and which are the bad, I will preach
" on

Cent. XVI. "on the good, and let the bad alone." "I thank "my God, (ſaid the biſhop,) I know nothing of "either the Old or New Teſtament; therefore, "dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my por- "taſs and my pontifical. Go away, and lay aſide "all theſe fantaſies, or you will repent it when too "late." Dean Thomas did not take the advice of his biſhop, but continued to preach every Sunday. He was ſoon after brought before the cardinal, together with two friars, Duncan Simpſon a prieſt, and Robert Foſter a gentleman, in Stirling. They were all condemned as obſtinate heretics, and burnt on the caſtle-hill of Edinburgh [163].

Liſt of heretics. All this was only a prelude to the horrors that were intended. A liſt of three hundred and ſixty perſons, who were to be tried for hereſy, was found in the king's pocket after his death. In this liſt were the names of about one hundred noblemen and gentlemen of fortune; and at the head of them, the earl of Arran, præſumptive heir to the crown. But the troubles in which the kingdom was involved in the two laſt years of James V. prevented the execution of this execrable ſcheme, by which the clergy propoſed to ſecure their own power and poſſeſſions, and enrich the crown, at the expence of ſo much innocent blood [164].

Cardinal Beaton had gained ſo great an aſcendant over the mind of James V. that he devolved upon him the adminiſtration of all the affairs both in church and ſtate. This we learn from the cardinal himſelf in his letters to the pope, and his

[163] Fox, p. 1153. [164] Sadler's Letters, p. 101.

other

other friends at Rome, in which he acquaints them, that he was overwhelmed with buſineſs; that the king had laid the whole weight of his government upon him alone, and would not ſuffer him to depart from court one moment [165]. Theſe letters were dated May 4th, A.D. 1540. Great efforts were made by Henry VIII. to weaken the attachment of the infatuated prince to his dangerous favourite [166], but without effect. We may, therefore, without heſitation, aſcribe all the calamities that befell the king and kingdom of Scotland in the laſt years of this reign, to the pernicious councils of cardinal Beaton. The objects of theſe councils were—to keep king James at a diſtance from, and at variance with, his uncle the king of England, who courted his friendſhip with great earneſtneſs; to extinguiſh that ſpirit of reformation that had ſpread from England into Scotland; and to preſerve himſelf and the reſt of the clergy from being deprived of their honours, their power, and their poſſeſſions. In purſuing theſe objects, he involved the nation in a war with England; the events of which proved ſo diſaſtrous, that they deprived the unhappy miſguided king, firſt of his reaſon, and ſoon after of his life. Cent. XVI.

All theſe diſaſters did not diſcourage this bold and hardened politician. He attended the prince whom he had ruined, and dictated a will for him in his laſt moments, when he was incapable of doing any deed that required the uſe of reaſon. By

[165] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. ii. p. 66.

[166] See Sadler's Letters.

Cent. XVI. that will a council of regency was appointed, conſiſting of himſelf, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Huntley. He brought this will from Faulkland to Edinburgh, where he proclaimed it at the market croſs, and immediately took the reins of government into his hands [167].

The cardinal did not long retain his ill-gotten power. A convention met December 28th, A. D. 1542, only eight days after the king's death. In this convention no regard was paid to the pretended will, as the manner in which it had been fabricated was not unknown. The cardinal, irritated at this, made a moſt violent declamation againſt appointing any ſingle perſon, and particularly any of the name of Hamilton, regent. In this oration he gave the Hamiltons all the opprobrious names that language furniſhed. The earl of Arran, who was preſumptive heir to the crown after the infant queen and her iſſue, ſtood up and ſaid: "My lords, "call me what names you pleaſe, but deny me "not my right to the regency. Whatever faults "any of my name may have committed, none of "you can ſay I have done him any injury. Nei-"ther am I minded to flatter any of my friends in "their evil doing; but by God's grace ſhall be as "forward to correct their enormities, as any with-"in the realm can reaſonably require me. There-"fore yet again, my lords, in God's name I crave, "that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my "juſt title, before you have experience of my go-"vernment." The whole aſſembly, the cardinal

[167] Buchan. lib. xv.

and

and a few of the clergy excepted, cried out, that the earl of Arran's claim was moſt juſt, and could not be diſputed. He was accordingly appointed guardian to the queen, and governor of the kingdom, and inveſted with all the powers, prerogatives, and poſſeſſions of the crown [168]. In a letter to the pope, dated at Edinburgh May 14th, A.D. 1543, the earl of Arran informed his holineſs, that by his proximity of blood, and the law of nature, he had been raiſed to the regency, as well as by the aſſent of the people of Scotland [169]. He was at the ſame time declared to be the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, and next heir to the crown, after the infant queen and her iſſue. Cent. XVI.

The earl of Arran was very unfit for the ſtation to which he was raiſed, and the difficult part he had to act. Scotland was at this time divided into two parties, which might be called the French and the Engliſh parties. The firſt of theſe conſiſted of all the clergy, and ſuch of the nobility, gentry, and commons as adhered to France and Rome, and were enemies to the reformation and to England. This party had the ancient prejudices of the nation in their favour, and cardinal Beaton at their head, than whom they could not have had a more able and artful leader. The other party conſiſted of all the nobles, gentlemen, and common people, who wiſhed for the reformation of the church, and an intimate union with England, by the marriage of the young queen to the prince of Wales. This Two parties.

[168] Knox, p. 36.

[169] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. ii. p. 157.

Cent. XVI. party gained a great acceſſion of ſtrength by the return of the earl of Angus, and his brother ſir George Douglas, who had long been exiles; and of the earls of Glencairn and Caſſilis; the lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Fleming; with ſeveral gentlemen, who had been priſoners in England. All theſe, gained by Henry, were ſent into Scotland to promote his views. This party alſo derived great advantages from the vicinity, power, and wealth of England, and the extreme eagerneſs of Henry to accompliſh the marriage. But the moſt powerful party, without a proper head, is a rope of ſand. The regent Arran was at the head of this party, and by his weak unſteady conduct ruined his party, brought diſgrace upon himſelf, and many great calamities on his country [170].

The impriſonment of the cardinal, the arts by which he recovered his liberty, brought over the governor to his party, attained as great a degree of power as he had ever poſſeſſed, and defeated all the ſchemes of Henry VIII., have been already related [171]. We ſhall now therefore confine our attention to the events which have an immediate relation to religion.

As ſoon as the cardinal had recovered his former power, he diſcovered that his pride, ambition, and cruelty were not in the leaſt diminiſhed. The great ſeal was taken from the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and delivered in full parliament December 15th, A. D. 1543, to the cardinal [172]. The ſame day the go-

[170] See Sadler's Letters.

[171] See ch. i. ſect. 2. towards the end.

[172] Regiſt. Parl. f. 123.

vernor,

vernor, who had abandoned his principles as well as his party, and was entirely under the direction of the cardinal, complained in parliament of the great increaſe of hereſy in all parts of the kingdom, when an act was made for its extirpation, commanding all biſhops and their officials to apprehend and bring to trial all who were ſuſpected of hereſy, and promiſing them the ſupport and ſecular arm in that pious work [173]. Cent. XVI.

This act was not ſuffered to lie long dormant. In January, A. D. 1544, the cardinal viſited ſome parts of his province in great ſtate, accompanied by the governor, the earl of Argyle, juſtice-general, three biſhops, and ſeveral other lords and gentlemen. Many perſons ſuſpected of hereſy had been impriſoned in Perth, and were now tried and found guilty. Some of them were baniſhed, five men were hanged, and one woman was drowned [174]. Theſe five men and the woman were reſpectable burgeſſes of Perth, and much beloved by their neighbours, who earneſtly interceded with the governor and cardinal to ſpare their lives. The governor, it is ſaid, would willingly have granted the requeſt; but the cardinal, who ruled all, was inflexible. This interceſſion, however, was probably the cauſe that they were not committed to the flames, the uſual puniſhment of heretics. Perſecution.

The governor and cardinal were prevented from proceeding in their progreſs for the extirpation of hereſy, by receiving intelligence of the great preparations that were making in England for a for-

173 Regiſt. Parl. f. 123. 174 Calderwood's MSS. Hiſt.

Cent. XVI. midable invaſion of Scotland in the ſpring. That invaſion took place in the beginning of May this year 1544, and was moſt ruinous to the capital of Scotland, and the country between that and Berwick. The war between the two nations being thus kindled, it continued to rage with great violence all this and a great part of the next year; during which time the preachers and profeſſors of the new learning met with little or no moleſtation, and the number of both greatly increaſed.

The firſt preachers of the doctrines of the reformation in Scotland, two or three excepted, were more eminent for their zeal and piety, than for their learning. But one no leſs ſincere and pious than his predeceſſors, but more diſtinguiſhed for his abilities and learning, made his appearance in this interval. This was the famous Mr. George Wiſhart, a ſon of the family of Pitarrow in the Merns. Having paſſed through a courſe of education in his native country, he ſtudied ſome time at Cambridge, and viſited ſeveral countries on the continent for his further improvement. When he was in Germany, he became acquainted with the doctrines of the reformed, which he ſtudied moſt carefully, and embraced moſt cordially. He then reſolved to return home, to communicate to his countrymen the knowledge he had obtained. Paſſing through England, he arrived in Scotland A. D. 1544; and having viſited his family he immediately began to preach with the moſt undaunted boldneſs againſt the corruptions of the church, and the vices of the clergy. He met with a moſt favourable

favourable reception wherever he appeared, particularly in Dundee, where he reſided a conſiderable time, and preached in the principal church to crowded audiences, till he was prohibited by the magiſtrates, at the command of the cardinal. He then viſited Montroſe, Perth, and ſeveral other towns in thoſe parts, preaching every where to admiring multitudes, who were equally charmed with the novelty of his doctrine, and manner of preaching. Being invited into the weſt, where the reformation had made the greateſt progreſs, he preached at the market croſs in the town of Ayr, to a prodigious crowd of people, while the archbiſhop of Glaſgow preached in the church to a few old women. In a word, the ſtrength of his arguments convinced the more intelligent of the truth of his doctrines, while thoſe who were not capable of judging of his arguments, were greatly affected by the eloquence, warmth, and fervour of his diſcourſes. His converts were almoſt innumerable; and among theſe were not a few of the nobility and principal gentlemen of the kingdom [175]. Cent. XVI.

The cardinal, and the clergy in general, were greatly incenſed againſt this bold and dangerous adverſary; and a reſolution was formed to put an end to his attacks upon the church, by taking away his life by ſome means or other. Two attempts were made to cut him off by aſſaſſination; but he defeated the firſt by his courage, and the ſecond by his caution. On the firſt of theſe attempts he be-

[175] Knox, p. 48, &c. Edit. 1644. Spottiſwood, p. 76, &c. Buchan. lib. xv.

Cent.XVI. haved in ſuch a noble and generous manner as ſhould have ſoftened the hearts of his enemies, if that had been poſſible. A friar named Weighton, who had undertaken to kill him when he was in Dundee, knowing that it was his cuſtom to remain in the pulpit after ſermon till the church was empty, ſkulked at the bottom of the ſtairs with a dagger in his right hand under his gown. Mr. Wiſhart, (who was remarkably quick-ſighted,) as he came down from the pulpit, obſerving the friar's countenance, and his hand with ſomething in it under his gown, ſuſpected his deſign, ſprung forward, ſeized his hand, and wrenched the dagger from him. At the noiſe which this ſcuffle occaſioned, a crowd of people ruſhed into the church, and would have torn the friar in pieces; but Mr. Wiſhart claſped him in his arms, and declared that none ſhould touch him but through his body. "He "hath done me no hurt, (ſaid he,) my friends; he "hath done me much good; he hath taught me "what I have to fear, and put me upon my guard." With theſe and other ſpeeches he appeaſed the people, and ſent home the aſſaſſin in ſafety [176]. If he diſcovered much courage and preſence of mind on this occaſion, he diſcovered no leſs caution and ſagacity on the next. When he was at Montroſe, a meſſenger came to him with a letter from the laird of Kineer, acquainting him, that he had been ſuddenly taken ill, and earneſtly intreating him to come to him without delay. He immediately ſet out, accompanied by two or three friends; but

[176] Knox, p. 59.

when

when they were about half a mile from the town, Cent. XVI.
he ſtopped, ſaying, "I ſuſpect there is treaſon in "this matter. Go you, (ſaid he to one of his "friends) up yonder, and tell me what you ob- "ſerve." He came back and told him, that he had ſeen a company of ſpearman lying in ambuſh near the road. They then returned to the town, and on the way he ſaid to his friends: "I know I "ſhall one day fall by the hands of that blood- "thirſty man (meaning the cardinal); but I truſt "it ſhall not be in this manner [177]."

Theſe two plots having miſcarried, and Mr. Wiſhart ſtill continuing to preach with his uſual boldneſs and ſucceſs, the cardinal ſummoned a ſynod of the clergy to meet January 11th, A. D. 1546, in the blackfriars church Edinburgh, to conſider what was proper to be done to put a ſtop to the progreſs of hereſy, and to that torrent of defection from the church that threatened her ruin. Some propoſals were made for reforming the lives of the clergy, and obliging them to be more diligent in the duties of their office, particularly in preaching; but nothing was determined. Synod.

When the cardinal was thus employed, he received information that the great enemy of the church, Mr. George Wiſhart, was in the houſe of Ormiſton, only about eight miles from Edinburgh. He did not neglect this information, but immediately applied to the governor, and with ſome difficulty, it is ſaid, procured a ſufficient force, with which he ſet out in the night, and arrived at El- Mr. Wiſhart apprehended.

[177] Knox, p. 51.

phingſton,

Cent. XVI. phingſton, about a mile from Ormiſton. Here the cardinal halted, and ſent the earl of Bothwell with a party of armed men to Ormiſton to ſeize Mr. Wiſhart. Having ſurrounded the houſe that none might eſcape, they awaked the family, and demanded admittance. This Mr. Cockburn, the owner of the houſe, at firſt refuſed; but finding it in vain to reſiſt, the earl and a few of his followers were admitted. After ſome expoſtulations, the earl of Bothwell gave a promiſe, confirmed by an oath, that he would protect Mr. Wiſhart from the malice of the cardinal, and procure him a fair trial, or would ſet him at liberty. On this ſecurity, Mr. Wiſhart was produced, and put into his hands [178].

Delivered to the governor.

The earl carried his priſoner to his own caſtle of Hails, and ſeemed at firſt to have ſome intention to perform his promiſe. But if he ever had ſuch an intention, it was ſoon ſhaken, by the perſuaſion, it is ſaid, of the queen dowager, with whom he was in love. To give him an excuſe for violating his oath and promiſe, he was brought before the governor and council January 19th, and commanded, under the higheſt penalties, to deliver his priſoner to the governor before the end of that month. He complied with that command, and conducted Mr. Wiſhart to the caſtle of Edinburgh, from whence he was ſoon after carried to the caſtle of St. Andrew's.

Governor refuſes to attend his trial.

The cardinal having got this capital enemy of the church into his hands, loaded him with irons, and reſolved that he ſhould not eſcape. He ſummoned

[178] Knox, p. 54, 55.

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an assembly of the bishops and principal clergy to meet at St. Andrew's, February 17th, for his trial, and invited the governor to be present on that occasion. With this invitation the obsequious governor would have complied, if he had not been dissuaded by his friends, particularly David Hamilton of Preston, a wise and good man, who convinced him by many arguments of the folly of drawing upon himself the guilt and odium that would attend the condemnation and execution of a man so innocent and so much admired. He wrote therefore to the cardinal, that he could not come to St. Andrew's at the time proposed, and desired him to delay Mr. Wishart's trial to a more convenient season. The haughty prelate stormed at this refusal, returned an insulting answer to the governor, and determined to proceed without delay [179]. Cent. XVI.

A convocation of the prelates and clergy assembled in great state in the cathedral March 1st, for the trial of Mr. Wishart, who was brought to the place prepared for him by a guard of a hundred armed men. In this pretended trial, all the rules of law, justice, equity, and even decency, were most grosly violated; the prisoner was loaded with the opprobrious names of heretic, runnagate, thief, traitor, &c. at the reading of each of the eighteen articles of the charge against him, which he bore with inimitable patience. When he attempted to answer these articles, he was silenced when he had only uttered a few sentences. But these sentences were directly to the point, and really unanswerable. Execution of Mr. Wishart.

[179] Buchan. lib. xv. p. 293.

He

Cent. XVI. He earneſtly begged leave to explain the doctrines he had preached, and to ſhew their conformity to the word of God; but this was denied him. After ſome hours were ſpent in inſulting rather than trying the priſoner, the predetermined ſentence was pronounced, condemning him to be burnt as an obſtinate heretic[180]. This cruel ſentence was executed the next day on the green before the caſtle. Thus periſhed Mr. George Wiſhart, one of the moſt pious and learned of the firſt preachers of the doctrines of the reformers in Scotland. His death was a loſs to his perſecutors, as well as to his friends. If he had lived a few years longer, the reformation, it is probable, would have been carried on with more regularity and leſs devaſtation. He had acquired an aſtoniſhing power over the minds of the people; and he always employed it in reſtraining them from acts of violence, inſpiring them with love to one another, and with gentleneſs and humanity to their enemies.

Exultation of the clergy. The exultation of the clergy at the execution of Mr. Wiſhart, was exceſſive, and they loaded the cardinal with praiſes as the moſt glorious champion of the church. They now imagined that they would enjoy their power, their honours, and riches, in tranquillity, and that none would dare to open their mouths againſt the church or clergy. But in this they were miſtaken. The death of Mr. Wiſhart made a very different impreſſion on the minds of the people in general; it excited their compaſſion for the meek and patient ſufferer, and

[180] Knox. Buchan. lib. xv. p. 294.

their

their indignation againſt the authors of his ſuffer- Cent. XVI.
ings. The effects of theſe paſſions very ſoon appeared.

The cardinal was not a little elated with this Marriage.
bold atchievement, the praiſes he received, and the advantages he expected to derive from it. Soon after, he ſpent ſome time at Finhaven in Angus, the earl of Crawford's ſeat, in ſettling the preliminaries of a marriage between that earl's eldeſt ſon, and one of his natural daughters, named Margaret, with whom he gave a very great fortune; and in celebrating that marriage. When the feſtivities on that occaſion were ended, he returned to his caſtle of St. Andrew's, where a great number of artificers of different kinds were employed in adding to its beauty, conveniency, and ſtrength.

The cardinal had many enemies, ſome on a civil or political, and others on a religious account; and the late execution of Mr. Wiſhart had greatly increaſed their number and inflamed their anger. John Leſly, brother to the earl of Rothes, had been long at variance with him; and Norman Leſly, that earl's eldeſt ſon, had lately quarrelled with him for denying him an eſtate, to which he thought he had a claim. Theſe two, by often converſing together, heated one another, till at length they reſolved to put him to death. They admitted into their ſecret and ſociety William Kirkaldy of Grange, (who was incenſed againſt the cardinal for depriving his father of the treaſurer's office,) Peter Carmichael, and James Melville, who were zealous promoters of the reformation, and admirers of Mr. Wiſhart.

Cent. XVI. Wiſhart. Theſe five, after ſeveral conſultations, determined to deſtroy the object of their reſentment in his own caſtle. In order to this, they agreed to meet at St. Andrew's, in the evening of May 28th, with a few of their followers, on whoſe ſecrecy and courage they could rely. They met accordingly; and having ſettled their plan of proceeding that evening, they aſſembled next morning early, in number only ſixteen, in the church-yard of the cathedral, near the caſtle, and waited till the gates were opened, and the draw-bridge down. Kirkcaldy of Grange, with other ſix of his accomplices, then walked down to the gate, were admitted without ſuſpicion, and entered into converſation with the porter, aſking him, when they would have an opportunity of waiting on the cardinal; and other queſtions. By and by Norman Leſly, with three or four others, came and joined the company. At laſt John Leſly, with the reſt of the conſpirators, approached. When the porter ſaw John Leſly, knowing him to be an enemy to his maſter, he began to ſuſpect ſome ill deſign, and attempted to draw up the bridge: but thoſe who were already admitted ſeized him, took all his keys from him, and threw him into the ditch. Being now maſters of the caſtle, they placed four of their number near the cardinal's chamber, to prevent his receiving any intelligence. They then turned out at the poſtern, about one hundred artificers and labourers, and about fifty of the houſehold, retaining only the governor's eldeſt ſon as a hoſtage. All this was done without any reſiſtance, and with ſo little noiſe, that

the cardinal was not alarmed till they knocked at the door of his chamber. Being aſked who was there? they anſwered, a Leſly. Knowing the voice of his enemy John Leſly, he apprehended his danger, and, with the aſſiſtance of his chamberlain, barricaded the door, which was very ſtrong. After ſome unſucceſsful attempts to break it open, they brought a grate with live coals, and threatened to ſet it on fire. The door was then opened, moſt probably by the chamberlain, and they ruſhed in with their ſwords drawn. They found the cardinal ſeated in an elbow chair, who cried, "I am "a prieſt, I am a prieſt; you will not kill me!" After a ſhort and angry expoſtulation they diſpatched him with many wounds. His laſt words were, "Fy! fy! all is loſt, all is loſt[181]!" Cent. XVI.

Thus fell, in his fifty-ſecond year, cardinal Beaton, the moſt opulent and powerful churchman that ever was in Scotland. That he was a man of great abilities his hiſtory proves, and his enemies did not deny; but his virtues were not equal to his abilities. The general tenor of his life was very unſuitable to his profeſſion and his vows. He had many natural children whom he publicly acknowledged, and on whom he beſtowed conſiderable fortunes. He was a moſt conſummate diſſembler. It coſt him nothing to make the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of love to thoſe he hated, of eſteem to thoſe he deſpiſed, and of friendſhip to thoſe he deſigned to ruin. His political ſchemes were deep and artful, but indirect and crooked,

[181] Buchan. lib. xv. Knox, p. 71—73.

carried

Cent. XVI. carried into execution by deception and fraud, when he had not power to employ force. He was proud and ambitious, cruel and unrelenting, eſpecially to thoſe who were zealous for the reformation of the church, which he knew would endanger his own greatneſs, and the power and poſſeſſions of the clergy. His death made a mighty noiſe, and produced very important conſequences.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER III.

Hiſtory of the Conſtitution, Government, and Laws of Great Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

AS the civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Britain in this buſy period, hath unavoidably ſwelled to an uncommon ſize, it is neceſſary to compreſs the materials of the following chapters of this book, by expreſſing every thing in as few words as poſſible.

Changes in the conſtitution.

The conſtitution of Great Britain, the envy and admiration of ſurrounding nations, hath been the work of ages; in the courſe of which it hath been expoſed to various dangers, and undergone various changes, before it reached that degree of excel-

lence, preciſion, and ſtability, to which it hath now attained. Many of theſe changes have been related in the third chapters of the former books of this work; and ſuch of the changes in the government and laws of England in the preſent period, as ſeem to merit a place in general hiſtory, will be related in the firſt ſection; and thoſe in the government and laws of Scotland, in the ſecond ſection of this chapter.

SECT. I.

Hiſtory of the Conſtitution, Government, and Laws of England, from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

Nobility. THE people of England were arranged in the ſame ranks and orders in ſociety in this as in the former period; but a very conſiderable change was now made in the numbers and circumſtances of the people in ſome of thoſe ranks, particularly the higheſt and loweſt.

So many noblemen had been killed, executed, and attainted, in the cruel conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, that only twenty-eight temporal peers were ſummoned to the firſt parliament of Henry VII.[182]: a very ſmall number in ſo great a kingdom. This diminution of the number of peers diminiſhed their weight in the ſcale of government; and as that was one object of the policy of Henry VII. he raiſed very few to the peerage. Only thirty-ſix temporal peers were ſummoned

[182] Dugdale's Summons to Parl.

moned to the firſt parliament of Henry VIII.[183] Though that prince was more profuſe of his money, he was no leſs frugal of his honours than his father, and no more than forty-ſeven peers were ſummoned to the firſt parliament of his ſon Edward VI.[184] Some other things contributed to diminiſh the power and influence of the peerage in this period: the facility of alienating their eſtates; the ſtrict execution of the laws againſt retaining great numbers of idle people in their ſervice, by giving them liveries; and by that ſplendid expenſive mode of living introduced in the reign of Henry VIII. In a word, the baronage of England was no longer that too powerful preponderating body they had long been; equally formidable to their ſovereigns and their fellow-ſubjects.

The numbers of the people in the loweſt rank in ſociety, that of ſlaves, were alſo greatly diminiſhed in this period. Sir Thomas Smith, who flouriſhed in thoſe times, and was ſecretary of ſtate to Edward VI., in his Treatiſe on the Republic of England, mentions two kinds of ſlaves, *viz.* villains in groſs, the abſolute property of their maſters and their heirs; and villains regardant, who were annexed to a particular eſtate, and transferred with it from one proprietor to another. "Neither of the "one ſort nor of the other," ſays he, "have we "any number in England; and of the firſt I never "knew any in the realm in my time: of the ſecond "ſo few there be, that it is not almoſt worth the "ſpeaking about. But law doth acknowledge

[183] Dugdale's Summons to Parl. p. 485. [184] Ibid. p. 509.

" them in both theſe kinds[185]." That is, no law had been made for aboliſhing theſe kinds of ſlavery. Other cauſes had produced that effect. Several cauſes of the gradual decline of ſlavery in England have been already mentioned[186]. Another cauſe now contributed to produce that effect. It came to be a prevailing opinion among people of all ranks, that ſlavery was inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of Chriſtianity and the rights of humanity, offenſive to God, and injurious to man. Wickliff and his followers inculcated this doctrine with great warmth, and their declamations had a great effect. Henry VIII. granted a manumiſſion A. D. 1514, to two of his ſlaves and their families; for which he aſſigned this reaſon in the preamble: " That God had at " firſt created all men equally free by nature, but " that many had been reduced to ſlavery by the " laws of men. We believe it, therefore, to be a " pious act, and meritorious in the ſight of God, to " ſet certain of our ſlaves at liberty from their " bondage[187]." As theſe ſentiments prevailed, ſlavery declined, and was at length extinguiſhed, without any poſitive law. An attempt was made to procure a law for the general manumiſſion of the bondmen in England; and a bill for that purpoſe was brought into the houſe of lords A. D. 1526, read three times in one day and rejected. But what could not be effected at once by a law, was gradually accompliſhed by humanity[188].

[185] Smith's Republic, p. 160.
[186] See vol. v. p. 359.
[187] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 470.
[188] Journals, vol. i. p. 99.

A new

A new race of people, differing in their origin, complexion, language, and manners, from the other inhabitants, appeared in England about this time, and ſoon became ſo numerous, and committed ſo many crimes, that a law was made, 22 Henry VIII. for their expulſion. Theſe people were called Gypſies, or Egyptians; becauſe they ſaid, and it was generally believed, that they came originally from Egypt. The characters and practices of theſe remarkable wanderers are thus deſcribed in the preamble to the act of parliament for their expulſion: "Foraſmuch as before this time divers and many "outlandiſh people, calling themſelves Egyptians, "uſing no craft nor feat of merchandiſe, have come "into this realm, and gone from ſhire to ſhire, "and place to place in great company, and uſed "great, ſubtile, and crafty means to deceive the "people; bearing them in hand, that by palmiſtry "they could tell men's and women's fortunes; and "ſo many times by craft and ſubtilty have deceived the people of their money, and alſo have "committed many heinous felonies and robberies, "to the great hurt and deceit of the people that "they have come among [189]." For theſe reaſons the parliament enacted, that no more Egyptians ſhould be admitted into the realm; and that if any of them landed, they ſhould be immediately ſeized and commanded to depart. It was further enacted, That a proclamation ſhould be publiſhed, commanding all the Egyptians in England to baniſh themſelves out of the kingdom in ſixteen days, un- Egyptians.

[189] Stat. 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.

der the penalty of impriſonment and the confiſcation of their goods. But neither this law, nor ſeveral ſubſequent laws ſtill more ſevere, produced the deſired effect. Many thouſands of thoſe pernicious inmates remained in England long after this time; and conſiderable numbers of their poſterity are ſtill remaining.

Parliament. So full an account hath been given of the conſtitution, powers, privileges, forms of proceeding, and other circumſtances, of the two houſes of parliament, in the third chapter of the fifth book of this work, that it will not be neceſſary to ſay much on theſe ſubjects in this chapter[190]. The changes that took place in parliament in this period were not many, and few of them were of great importance.

Houſe of lords. For ſeveral centuries the ſpiritual peers had been more in number than the temporal peers in the houſe of lords. But a great revolution happened in that particular in this period. By the diſſolution of the monaſteries and other religious houſes, more than one half of the ſpiritual peers were cut off from the houſe of lords at one blow. No fewer than twenty-ſix parliamentary abbots and two parliamentary priors loſt their baronies and their ſeats in the houſe of lords at the ſame time. When the parliament met after this great revolution, April 13th, A. D. 1539, the houſe of peers made a very different appearance from what it had done on all former occaſions, from the time that the parliament had been divided into two houſes. Forty-

[190] See vol. v. p. 360—371.

one

one temporal, and only twenty ſpiritual peers were preſent in that ſeſſion[191]. This revolution was very favourable to the cauſe, and had been promoted by the friends, of the reformation: but it was fatal to the cauſe of popery, which thereby loſt a great number of its ſtrongeſt pillars, and ſoon fell to the ground.

Forms of proceedings in parliament.

The forms of conducting buſineſs in parliament were not very firmly fixed, in the times we are now conſidering; at leaſt ſome forms were then uſed which have long ſince been diſcontinued, which were very different from thoſe that are now eſtabliſhed. At the opening of every parliament the king was preſent, ſeated on his throne, but made no ſpeech to the two houſes. The ſpeech was made by the lord chancellor; and as the chancellors in thoſe times were generally prelates, thoſe ſpeeches were a kind of ſermons on a text of ſcripture, and abounded in the moſt fulſome flattery of his majeſty, whoſe glorious perfections the humble prelate acknowledged himſelf incapable of deſcribing. The chancellor then named ſeveral committees, conſiſting of lords and commons, for the quicker diſpatch of buſineſs; *viz.* one committee for receiving petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; another for receiving petitions from Gaſcony, and the Engliſh territories on the continent: one committee for trying the petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; and another for trying the petitions from Gaſcony, and the continent. This was a very ancient

[191] Journals, vol. i. p. 129.

form; but in thoſe times it was far from being a mere unmeaning form, as it is at preſent. The triers of petitions had a great deal of power, and did a great deal of buſineſs. In particular, they had the ſame dangerous power with the lords of the articles in the parliament of Scotland, to ſelect ſuch petitions as they thought worthy of the attention of parliament, to form them into bills to be laid before the houſes, and to reject others. This gave the king and his miniſters a great advantage; as it put it into their power to prevent any thing that was diſagreeable to them from being introduced into parliament, except incidentally by the members in their ſpeeches [192]. The forms of reading and paſſing bills were in ſome reſpects different from what they are at preſent. Bills were prepared and brought into the houſe by the triers of petitions, written upon paper, and after a firſt and ſecond reading, were commonly delivered to the king's attorney and ſolicitor, to be examined, corrected, and put into legal parliamentary form [193]. No certain number of times was fixed for reading bills before they were paſſed. In the Journals of the houſe of lords we find ſome bills were paſſed on the firſt reading, with the unanimous conſent of all the members, and that others were twice read on one day, paſſed, and ſent to the commons [194]. Many were paſſed on the third reading, but ſome were read four times, ſome five times, ſome ſix times, ſome ſeven times, and ſome even eight times [195].

192 Journals, paſſim.
193 Ibid. p. 11. & paſſim.
194 Ibid. p. 125.
195 Ibid. p. 26. 49. 52. 55. 56.

It

It ſeems to have been the intention of parliament in thoſe times to paſs thoſe bills immediately on the firſt or ſecond reading on which all were agreed; and to read thoſe bills on which different opinions were entertained, till all, or a great majority of the members, came to be of the ſame ſentiments. This, however, is only a conjecture, and may be a miſtake. Several other peculiarities in the modes of conducting buſineſs in parliament might be collected from the Journals of the houſe of lords, if it were neceſſary.

The ſeſſions of parliament in this period were ſeldom longer than five or ſix weeks, ſometimes much ſhorter; but in theſe ſhort ſeſſions, both houſes applied to buſineſs with great aſſiduity. They had often two meetings in the day; one at eight or nine o'clock in the morning, after breakfaſt; the other at two o'clock in the afternoon, after dinner [196]. Great pains were taken to ſecure a full attendance of all the members at every meeting. None could be abſent without leave from the king, and without naming one or two who were preſent as proxies, to act in his name. Such as were abſent without leave, and without proxies, were liable to a heavy fine. The names of all the members preſent at every meeting are carefully marked in the Journals, and from thence we find that there was conſtantly a very full attendance [197].

Some of the parliaments of this period were of longer duration, and had a greater number of ſeſſions, than thoſe of former times. The parliament Long parliament.

[196] Journals, vol. i. p. 39, &c. [197] Ibid. paſſim.

that

that met at Weſtminſter 21 Henry VIII. November 3d, A. D. 1529, had ſeven ſeſſions, each of them uncommonly long and full of buſineſs, and was not diſſolved till April 4th, A. D. 1535, after having continued ſix years and four months [198].

Unanimity in parliament.

Though many of the laws that were made by the parliament of England in the reign of Henry VIII.; as the laws for aboliſhing the power of the pope; for inveſting the king, a layman, with the ſupremacy of the church; and for the diſſolution of religious houſes, could not but be very diſagreeable to many of the members, and particularly to the ſpiritual peers in the houſe of lords; it is aſtoniſhing how little oppoſition they encountered, and with what facility and rapidity they paſſed through both houſes. The bill empowering the king, as ſupreme head of the church, to conſtitute biſhops by his own authority, was brought into the houſe of lords, read three times, paſſed, ſent to the commons, read three times by them, paſſed, and returned to the lords all in the ſame day [199]. At the end of the third and laſt ſeſſion of that parliament, which finiſhed the diſſolution of the monaſtic orders, granted their houſes, lands, and goods to the king, and made many other ſevere laws againſt the pope and church of Rome, it is recorded in the Journals, "That the lords gave their ſuffrages "and delivered their ſentiments concerning all "theſe acts; and ſuch was their unanimity, that "there was no difference of opinion about any "one of them [200]." So great an aſcendant had this

[198] Stat. 21 Hen. VIII.
[200] Ibid. p. 163.
[199] Journals, p. 112.

awful

awful prince gained over the minds of his greateſt ſubjects. We meet with no proteſts or diſſents in the Journals of the houſe of lords in this reign. That was a meaſure too dangerous to be attempted. So great was the authority, and ſo dreadful the diſpleaſure of this prince, that the boldeſt of his ſubjects trembled at the thoughts of oppoſition.

The forms of electing the members of the houſe of commons, and the laws for preventing undue elections and falſe returns, were the ſame in this as in the former period. Great pains were taken to ſecure the conſtant attendance of all the members from the beginning to the end of every ſeſſion. At the beginning of a parliament a liſt of the members returned was made out and called over at the firſt meeting, and all who were not preſent to anſwer to their names were fined. A very diſtinct account is preſerved in the Journals of the houſe of lords, of the opening of the parliament that met at Weſtminſter on Monday January 16th, A. D. 1542. On that day the Duke of Suffolk, attended by many other lords in their robes, came into the parliament chamber, and commanded the clerk of the parliament to call the names of all the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, who were ſtanding without the bar, and every one anſwered to his name. The duke and the other lords then took their ſeats, waiting for the entry of the king, the commons ſtill ſtanding without the bar[201]. No leſs care was taken to ſecure the attendance of all the members to the end, than their appearance at the beginning, of

[201] Journals, p. 164.

every

every ſeſſion. By an act of parliament, A. D. 1541, it was declared, that if any member left the houſe without the leave of the ſpeaker before the end of the ſeſſion, he ſhould have no claim for wages from his conſtituents [202].

Though both houſes of the parliament of England in this period on many occaſions acted a very mean part, and ſhamefully ſacrificed their own undoubted rights and liberties, and thoſe of the people, by complying with the imperious mandates and impetuous paſſions of their ſovereigns and their miniſters, there is ſufficient evidence that the commons now began to acquire a greater degree of weight in the ſcale of government, than they had formerly poſſeſſed or exerciſed. Of this it would be eaſy to produce many proofs, but a few will be ſufficient.

We have already ſeen, that in former periods the commons did not take the lead in granting ſupplies to the crown, but contented themſelves with granting their own ſupplies and thoſe of their conſtituents, while the peers in the houſe of lords, and the clergy in convocation, granted each their own aids, ſometimes of a different kind from thoſe granted by the commons [203]. It plainly appears, however, that greater attention was now paid to the commons in this important buſineſs, and that their aſſent was neceſſary to every grant, though ſome of the money-bills ſtill originated in the houſe of lords. Of this it will be proper to give one example out of ſeveral that might be given. A bill

[202] Statutes. [203] Vol. iv. p. 391.

was

was brought into the houſe of lords February 22d, A. D. 1515, for granting the king tonnage and poundage during his life, was read a firſt time, and delivered to the king's attorney to be written out fair. It was read a ſecond time on Friday the 23d, a third time on Monday the 26th, a fourth time on Tueſday the 27th, and paſſed. It was ſent with eight other bills to the houſe of commons March 10th, where it was paſſed and returned to the lords March 28th[204]. On ſome occaſions, when the king, by his miniſters, had applied firſt to the lords for a ſupply, and they had agreed to grant it; inſtead of bringing in a bill for that purpoſe, they appointed a committee of the principal lords in their houſe to wait upon the commons, to communicate to them the requiſition and the conſent of the lords, and to requeſt them to take that buſineſs into their conſideration, and then retire[205]. This was a degree of attention and reſpect that had not been paid to the commons in any former period. The ſteadineſs with which the commons ſometimes declined complying with the king's demands, enforced by the conſent of the lords, and the moſt earneſt ſolicitations of the great cardinal Wolſey in the zenith of his power, is another proof of the riſing ſpirit of the houſe of commons[206]. Both the king and the cardinal were ſo much diſguſted with the oppoſition they met with in the houſe of commons to their exorbitant demands, that they formed the reſolution of ruling without parlia-

[204] Journals, p. 25, 26. 31. 38.

[205] Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 86. [206] Ibid. p. 38.

ments;

ments; to which they adhered almoſt ſeven years, and from which they did not depart till they had exhauſted all the illegal arts of extorting money. Some of theſe arts were ſuch, that if they had been ſucceſsful they would have put an end to parliaments, and to all the rights and liberties of the people of England. Commiſſions were ſent into every county in England, A.D. 1525, empowering and commanding the commiſſioners to levy from the laity the ſixth, and from the clergy the fourth part of their goods. But theſe commiſſions excited ſuch an univerſal alarm, and threatened ſo great a ſtorm, that the king thought proper to diſavow and recal them by proclamation [207].

In former periods, it hath been obſerved that when the privileges of the commons were invaded, they applied to the king or to the houſe of lords for redreſs [208]: but in this period they took the protection of their privileges, and the puniſhment of thoſe who invaded them, into their own hands; which is another proof of their increaſing power and conſequence. A remarkable example of this occurred in the parliament that met at Weſtminſter 16th January, A.D. 1543: George Ferrers, member for Plymouth, was arreſted for debt, and impriſoned in the Counter, Bread-ſtreet; of which the ſpeaker having acquainted the houſe, they ſent their ſerjeant to demand the priſoner. But the clerks of the Counter were ſo far from complying with this demand, that they gave him very ill language, broke his mace, and knocked down his

[207] Herbert, p. 66. [208] See vol. v. p. 366.

ſervant. In the midſt of this ſcuffle the two ſheriffs of London arrived, to whom the ſerjeant applied; but they treated him with great contempt, and refuſed to deliver the priſoner. On his return to Weſtminſter, his relation of the treatment he had received threw the houſe into a violent ferment. They declared unanimouſly, that they would do no buſineſs till they had recovered their member; went in a body to the houſe of lords, (according to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the two houſes, communicating to each other any extraordinary emergency,) and by their ſpeaker repreſented the indignity that had been offered them. The lords, after a ſhort deliberation, replied by the chancellor, that the indignity was very great, but referred the redreſs of it, and the puniſhment of the offenders, entirely to the commons. The chancellor, at the ſame time, offered them his warrant for the liberation of their member, which they refuſed. The commons, on their return to their own houſe, ſent their ſerjeant with his mace again, to demand their member. It being now known to the ſheriffs how much their late treatment of the ſerjeant had been reſented, they received him with the greateſt reſpect, and immediately ſet the priſoner at liberty. But the ſerjeant, agreeably to the orders he had received, ſummoned the two ſheriffs to appear at the bar of the houſe of commons next morning at eight o'clock, and to bring with them all who had been concerned in the late riot, and one Mr. White, at whoſe ſuit the member had been arreſted. They appeared accordingly, and after a ſevere reprimand

from

from the ſpeaker, the two ſheriffs, with White the proſecutor, were committed to the Tower, and three of their officers to Newgate; but on a petition from the lord mayor of London, they were liberated in a few days[209]. This ſpirited conduct of the commons was applauded by the king.

Servility of parliament.

But though it is certain that the houſe of commons acquired additional power and influence in the courſe of this period, it is no leſs certain, that both the houſes of the parliament of England, on many occaſions, diſcovered a ſpirit of ſervile ſubmiſſion to the imperious mandates and impetuous paſſions of their ſovereigns, particularly of Henry VIII.; very diſhonourable to themſelves, and very pernicious to their country. Nothing but a ſervile unmanly dread of the frowns of royalty (which were indeed very terrible) could have induced them to give their aſſent to the many unconſtitutional, unjuſt, abſurd, contradictory, oppreſſive, and cruel laws that were enacted in the reign of that ſtern imperious tyrant. That many laws were made in that reign which merited the above epithets is undeniable. Could any thing be more ſubverſive of the conſtitution than the law which gave royal proclamations the ſame authority with acts of parliament[210]? What could be more contrary to the plaineſt principles of juſtice and common honeſty, than the law which abſolved the king from the obligation of paying his debts, for which he had given ſecurity under his privy ſeal, and even obliged

[209] Hollingſhed, p. 955. Miſcellania Parliamentaria, p. 1—10.
[210] Stat. 31 Hen. VIII.

thoſe who had received payment to refund the money they had received[211]? How abſurd and indelicate was that law which enacted, "That if "the king or his ſucceſſors ſhould intend to marry "any woman whom they took to be a pure and "clean maid, if ſhe, not being ſo, did not declare "the ſame to the king, it ſhould be high treaſon, "and all who knew it and did not reveal it were "guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon[212]!" By act of parliament 28 Henry VIII. it was declared to be high treaſon to aſſert the validity of the king's marriage with his firſt queen Catherine of Spain, or his ſecond queen Anne Boleyn; and whoever refuſed to anſwer upon oath to every thing contained in that act was declared to be a traitor[213]. By another act, about ſeven years after, (which did not repeal but confirm the former act,) it was made treaſon to ſay any thing to the diſparagement or ſlander of the princeſs Mary or Elizabeth[214]. How captious, contradictory, and cruel were theſe laws! If they had both been put in execution, any man in England might have been convicted of treaſon by the one or by the other. If he refuſed to anſwer upon oath, he was a traitor: If he aſſerted the validity of the king's marriages, or of one of them, he was a traitor by the firſt act: if he denied it, he diſparaged the princeſſes, or one of them, and was a traitor by the ſecond. The truth ſeems to have been, that the ſervile parliaments of thoſe

211 Burnet, b. xi, Records. No. xxxi. Rolls of parl. A. D. 1529.
212 Burnet, vol. i. p. 313. 213 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.
214 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

times were in ſuch haſte to gratify the preſent predominant paſſion of their imperious maſter, that they did not reflect on the abſurdity, cruelty, and inconſiſtency of the acts they paſſed, or on the fatal conſequences which they might produce. Of this many other proofs, if it were neceſſary, might be adduced.

Great power of the crown.

When the opulence and power of the great barons (which had long formed a balance to the power of their ſovereigns) were gradually declining, by the alienation of their lands and the loſs of their retainers, and when the ſpirit of parliaments was ſinking into ſervility, the power and prerogatives of the crown were gradually increaſing in the ſame proportion, and at length threatened the deſtruction of the conſtitution, and the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute monarchy. The acceſſion of Henry VII. however defective his right might be, was a very happy event. It put an end to a moſt deſtructive civil war, the horrors of which had made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the people, that they ſeem to have been determined to ſuffer and ſubmit to any thing, rather than rekindle thoſe flames which had threatened them with deſtruction. That artful prince availed himſelf of this diſpoſition of the people, and obtained ſuch a ſettlement of the crown as he wiſhed, and every thing he deſired from parliament. His implacable hatred of the houſe of York and its partizans; his avarice, extortions, vexatious proſecutions on antiquated penal ſtatutes, and the general ſeverity of his government, created him many enemies, encouraged pretenders

tenders to his throne, and procured them followers. But the great body of the nobility, gentry, and people, though ſecretly diſcontented, remained quiet; having the dreadful diſaſters of the late times freſh in their memories. The inſurrections were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and ſerved only to render the king more ſecure and arbitrary.

Attempts to ruin the conſtitution.

Henry VIII. at his acceſſion was in the bloom of youth, engaged in the moſt ardent purſuit of pleaſures and amuſements of the moſt ſplendid and expenſive kind, by which he ſoon diſſipated the immenſe treaſure accumulated by his parſimonious father; and thereby parted with one inſtrument of increaſing his power, about which at that time he had no anxiety. He committed the management of affairs to his miniſters, who ſacrificed Empſon and Dudley, the two hated inſtruments of his father's extortions, to the reſentment of the people, which rendered the young monarch exceedingly popular. He ſtill continued to purſue his oſtentatious expenſive pleaſures with unremitting ardour, in which he was encouraged by his favourite Wolſey, who formed, and by his great abilities had nearly accompliſhed, the baſe deſign of rendering the king abſolute, and the crown independent of the people, by impoſing taxes without the conſent of parliament. Loans had been often ſolicited and obtained, though the repayment of them was known to be very uncertain. Free gifts, called benevolences, had been frequently demanded, and by many granted, though with much reluctance. Both theſe methods of raiſing money were contrary

to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and the laſt of them was contrary to an act of parliament; but as they did not avowedly extort money from the ſubjects without their own conſent, they were by many complied with, and by all endured. But when cardinal Wolſey proceeded to ſtrike the laſt deciſive blow for overturning the conſtitution, by ſending commiſſioners into every county in England, A. D. 1526, to levy the ſixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth part of the goods of the clergy, by the royal authority alone, the ſpirit of the nation was rouſed, and ſo great a ferment raiſed, that Henry found it neceſſary to diſavow his miniſter and recal his commiſſioners [216].

Great power of Henry VIII.

But though Henry was foiled in this attempt, he was not cured of his avarice and ambition. He ſtill wiſhed to have the money of his ſubjects at his command, and the power of ruling them as he pleaſed. To accompliſh this in the latter half of his reign, he purſued a more indirect, but more inſidious and more dangerous method, by managing parliaments, and making them ſubſervient to his deſigns againſt the rights and liberties of his ſubjects. In this he was too ſucceſsful. The long parliament, and all the ſubſequent parliaments in his reign, were ſo managed, that they denied him nothing. The methods of managing parliaments were no ſecrets even in thoſe times; and there was one circumſtance that greatly facilitated their operation. After the diſputes with Rome commenced, the nation was divided into two great parties; the

[216] Herbert, A. D. 1526.

partiſans

partiſans of the pope, and the friends of the reformation; and theſe parties, knowing the king's temper, engaged in a formal conteſt which ſhould flatter him moſt, and comply with all his requiſitions with the greateſt alacrity, to gain him to their ſide. This ſeems to be the reaſon that bills paſſed both houſes with little or no oppoſition, that were exceedingly diſagreeable to many, if not to a majority of the members. They dared not oppoſe with any vigour, for fear of irritating the furious monarch, and throwing him into the arms of the oppoſite party. It was not ſo much policy as his natural temper that made him, between theſe two parties, ſometimes promote, and ſometimes retard the reformation. He was a papiſt, though he had quarrelled with the pope. He hanged and beheaded thoſe who acknowledged the papal authority, and burned thoſe who denied the popiſh doctrines; and his obſequious parliaments gave their ſanction to both. It was a parliament in which there were many, probably a majority, of zealous papiſts, that aboliſhed the pope's authority in England; inveſted the king with the title of ſupreme head of the church in his dominions; diſſolved the religious houſes, and granted all their goods to the crown [217]. It was a parliament in which we know there were many members in both houſes who had cordially embraced the principles of the reformation, that made the cruel act of the Six Articles, which condemned to the flames all who had the courage to

[217] 23 Hen. VIII. Burnet, vol. i. p. 144. Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 144.

avow and defend theſe principles; nor do we hear of any conſiderable oppoſition that was made to that act, except by archbiſhop Cranmer, and his oppoſition was conſidered as an extraordinary thing, and an act of the greateſt heroiſm. Parliaments gave the force of laws to royal proclamations, and to ſucceeding princes the power of repealing all laws made before they were twenty-four years of age [218]. Parliaments gave the king authority to regulate the religious opinions his ſubjects were to entertain, and the religious ceremonies they were to perform, and to change them as he pleaſed by proclamations from time to time. They gave him even the extraordinary power of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown, by his letters patent or his laſt will [219]. In a word, theſe parliaments complied with all Henry's caprices, followed him in all his turnings and windings, and enacted whatever he dictated with little heſitation. In theſe circumſtances the conſtitution was on the brink of ruin, and England was in thoſe times very nearly an abſolute, with the outward forms of a limited monarchy.

Perverſion of law.

We hear of no very remarkable change in the conſtitution of the courts at Weſtminſter, or in the ordinary adminiſtration of the laws in this period, except when the ſovereigns interfered. Then indeed the laws were baſely perverted, and the moſt ſhocking acts of oppreſſion perpetrated, under the pretence of executing the laws and puniſhing offences. In the reign of Henry VII. theſe oppreſ-

[218] Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 132. [219] Ibid. p. 196.

ſions

ſions extended only to the impriſonment of many of the ſubjects on the moſt frivolous pretences, and detaining them in priſon till they paid great compoſitions to obtain their liberty; to impoſing exorbitant amerciaments for ſmall delinquencies; exacting enormous reliefs from the royal wards; demanding exceſſive ſums for pardons, and a moſt rigorous execution of antiquated penal ſtatutes [220]. By theſe and various other methods the laws were made the inſtruments of oppreſſion, the ſubjects haraſſed and plundered, and the king's coffers filled. In the reign of Henry VIII. (who was more jealous and vindictive than covetous,) this perverſion of law, and the forms of juſtice, took a more fatal turn, and deprived many perſons of high rank, not only of their liberties, honours, and eſtates, but alſo of their lives, on very defective evidence, and ſometimes without any trial. On what ſlender evidence were the amiable queen Anne Boleyn, and her accompliſhed brother lord Rochford, found guilty of high treaſon, condemned, and executed? On what trivial pretences did the convocation pronounce a ſentence of divorce between Henry and his queen Anne of Cleves, which was confirmed by parliament? How many noble perſons were found guilty of high treaſon, without any trial, by acts of attainder in parliament, though they were in cuſtody and earneſtly intreated to be tried before they were condemned? Was not this a groſs violation of the firſt and plaineſt principles of law and juſtice? Who after this will heſitate to pronounce Henry VIII. a tyrant,

[220] Bacon. 629, 630. Hollingſh. 504. Polyd. Virg. p. 613—615.

and his parliaments the ſervile executioners of his imperious and cruel mandates?

Government ſanguinary.

The courts of ſome of the popiſh biſhops of this period were ſcenes of great cruelty, in which many good and virtuous perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages, were condemned to the flames, for reading the New Teſtament in Engliſh, or having it in their poſſeſſion, or for any thing that indicated that they entertained opinions in religion different from the tenets of the church of Rome. But ſo much hath been ſaid on this unpleaſant ſubject in the ſecond chapter of this book, that I ſhall here decline mentioning any particulars. Such readers as wiſh to be acquainted with thoſe ſcenes of cruelty and horror, may conſult the voluminous work quoted below [221]. It is proper to conclude this ſubject with obſerving, that the executive government, both in church and ſtate, in the reign of Henry VIII. was exceedingly ſanguinary. A prodigious number of people, no fewer it is ſaid than ſeventy-two thouſand, were put to death as criminals in that reign. This account appears to be exaggerated, but the number was certainly very great [222].

Revenues.

The ordinary ſtated revenues of the crown of England flowed from the ſame ſources in this as in the three former periods, which need not be again deſcribed [223]. Its extraordinary and leſs certain revenues were derived from parliamentary grants of tenths and fifteenths, from loans, benevolences, forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, &c. That theſe

221 Fox's Martyrology. 222 Hollingſh. p. 186.
223 See vol. vi. ch. 3. § 1, vol. x. p. 76—80.

reve-

revenues with good management, were ſufficient to ſupport the dignity of the crown, and defray all the expences of government, and even to yield a ſurplus, is evident from the great maſs of money that was found in the coffers of Henry VII. at his death, amounting to 1,800,000l., equal, in the quantity and weight of the precious metals, to 2,700,000l., and in real value and efficacy to 8,000,000l. of our money at preſent. All that treaſure, the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown, the tenths and firſt-fruits from the clergy, (which had been formerly paid to the pope,) together with the ineſtimable ſpoils of all the religious houſes in England, whoſe value almoſt exceeded the bounds of calculation, came into the poſſeſſion of Henry VIII. For the management of this great influx of revenue ſeveral new courts were erected; as the court of augmentations, the court of ſurveyors of the king's lands, the court of firſt-fruits and tenths[224]: and if they had been well managed they might have made the crown independent of the country, and enabled the king to have reigned for a long time without a parliament. But, fortunately for the people of England, Henry diſſipated all thoſe treaſures, died poor, and tranſmitted the crown to his ſon and ſucceſſor, as dependent on the people for their ſupplies in parliament, as at any former period. The wanton, waſteful profuſion of princes is always hurtful to themſelves, but may accidentally, and in ſome circumſtances, prove beneficial to their ſubjects,

[224] Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27—33. c. 39—42. c. 46.

by preventing greater evils. If Henry had been more frugal, he would have been more dangerous.

SECT. II.

History of the Conſtitution, Government, and Laws of Scotland, from A. D. 1488 *to* A. D. 1542.

THOUGH Scotland, during a great part of the period we are now conſidering, was a ſcene of great confuſion, owing to the minorities of the kings, the factions of the nobles, and the wars with England, the cares of government and the execution of the laws were not neglected. On the contrary, greater attention was paid to thoſe important objects, than could have been expected in ſuch unhappy times. Many parliaments were held, in which a variety of wiſe regulations were made, for bringing criminals to juſtice, for preventing riots, tumults, and oppreſſions, and for promoting the peace and proſperity of the country[225].

No remarkable change was made at this time in the ranks and orders of men in ſociety. The great barons, by the extent of their eſtates and the number of their followers, ſtill maintained that ſuperior influence which they had long enjoyed, which they often employed for the protection and ſometimes for the diſturbance of their country, by their feuds and factions. The clergy had great poſſeſſions and great power; they were in general good landlords, and did not oppreſs their tenants, by whom they

[225] See Black Acts, James IV. and V.

were

were beloved. A few of them had ſome learning and ſkill in buſineſs, which raiſed them to the higheſt offices in the ſtate; which, with their riches, their luxury, and their pride, excited the envy and hatred of the nobility. Their cruelty to the preachers and profeſſors of the doctrines of the reformation ſhocked the humanity of the people, who could not help pitying the ſufferers and abhorring their perſecutors. Their enemies daily increaſed, and their friends diminiſhed; and towards the end of this period the mine was dug, which was ſoon after ſprung, and involved them in ſudden and irreparable ruin. Merchants, artificers, and huſbandmen, when they were injured and oppreſſed by their too powerful neighbours, ſought, and generally found redreſs and protection from the king's courts, or from parliament, and it was againſt law to ſeek it from any other quarter. Several chieftains in Gallaway and Carrick had been accuſtomed to demand a certain annual payment, called *caupis*, from their poor neighbours for their protection. A complaint of this was brought before parliament, A. D. 1490, and an act was made prohibiting that demand [226]. The tenants on the king's lands were by far the happieſt, as they were exempted from many ſervices to which others were ſubjected. The lords and gentlemen in their neighbourhood obſerving this, were in uſe to demand, in an authoritative way, certain ſervices from them; as carriages, ſhearing, ploughing, &c. Complaint of this was made to the ſame parliament, and it was immediately enact-

[226] Black Acts, 2 James IV. c. 35, 36.

ed,

ed, "That no lord, baron, or gentleman, ſhould "compel any of the king's tenants to do them any "ſervice, by coaction or dread, under the pain "of being puniſhed as oppreſſors of the king's "lieges[227]." Whoever will peruſe the ſtatutes of this period, muſt perceive that many of them breathe a ſpirit of tenderneſs and humanity towards the common people, that do great honour to the legiſlators, and prove that they were not ſuch fierce unfeeling barbarians as they have been ſometimes repreſented. Upon the whole, there is ſufficient evidence that the people of Scotland in thoſe times, even in the loweſt ſtations, were not ſo forlorn and unprotected by government, nor government ſo weak and unable to protect them, as hath been commonly imagined. James V. in particular, was a moſt ſtrenuous protector of the poor from the oppreſſions of the rich and powerful, which procured him the honourable appellation of *the poor man's king*.

Authority of the laws.

The authority of the laws was not only extended in this period over all ranks of people, but to the moſt remote extremities of the kingdom, and to the northern and weſtern iſlands, where laws had formerly been little known or regarded. In the preamble to an act of parliament, A. D. 1503, it is obſerved, "That there had been great abuſion "[abuſe] of juſtice in the north parts and weſt "parts of the realm; as the North Iſles and South "Iſles, for lack [want] of Juſtice-aires, juſtices, "and ſheriffs, by which the people are almoſt be-

[227] Black Acts, 2 James IV. c. 38.

"come

"come wild [228]." To remedy this great evil, the parliament eſtabliſhed juſtices and ſheriffs in Orkney, Caithneſs, Roſs, and the Weſtern Iſles, where there had been none before; and appointed juſtice-aires, or courts of juſtice, to be held at certain times and places in thoſe remote countries [229]. Theſe new magiſtrates, it is probable, found no little difficulty in the execution of their offices, among a people unaccuſtomed to the reſtraints of law, and haughty chieftains who had formerly been the only judges. To give countenance to his officers, and procure reverence for the laws, James V. a prince of great activity, and zealous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, reſolved to viſit in perſon thoſe leſs civilized parts of his dominions. He ſailed from Leith, A. D. 1535, with five ſtout ſhips, well-manned, attended by ſeveral of his chief nobility. It was given out that he was bound for France. But as ſoon as he was out of the Firth he changed his courſe, and ſailed along the eaſt, north, and weſt coaſts and iſlands, to Whithorn in Gallaway. In this voyage he frequently landed, inquired into the ſtate of the country, ſurpriſed and ſeized ſeveral of the moſt turbulent chieftains, and ſent them to different priſons, where they were detained till they found ſecurity for their future good behaviour. By this expedition the king not only gained a more perfect knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, but ſtruck ſuch terror into the heads of the ſeveral clans, that they learned to reſpect

[228] 5 James IV. c. 93. [229] Ibid. c. 94, 95.

the

the laws, and remained quiet, it is ſaid, for many years [230].

Gypſies. The number of thoſe remarkable wanderers called Egyptians, or Gypſies, in Scotland at this time was very conſiderable, and formed a kind of commonwealth, under a chief of their own nation, called John Faw, lord and earl of Little Egypt. The authority of this Egyptian chieftain over his ſubjects was ſupported by government; and James V. publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all ſheriffs and magiſtrates to lend him the uſe of their priſons and ſtocks whenever he demanded them. That prince alſo made an agreement or covenant in form with this Egyptian chief; who engaged on his part to carry all his ſubjects out of Scotland, and conduct them home to their own country of Little Egypt; and the king engaged to furniſh him with ſhips for that purpoſe. But the earl was not able to fulfil his engagement. Many of his ſubjects rebelled againſt him, under the conduct of one of them, named Sebaſtian Lalow, and refuſed to return home. This rebellion continued ſeveral years, as appears from another proclamation iſſued A. D. 1553, by James duke of Chatelrault, earl of Arran, &c. governor of Scotland; commanding all ſheriffs, magiſtrates, and other officers, to aſſiſt John Faw, earl of Little Egypt, in apprehending his rebellious ſubjects, (many of whom are named in the proclamation,) and compelling them to obey and follow him into their own country [231]. Whether this famous Gypſey, John Faw, was an impoſtor, or had really

[230] Drummond, p. 309. [231] See Appendix.

really been the ſovereign of a ſmall territory in Egypt, as he pretended, I ſhall not determine; but his ſcheme of carrying all the Gypſies out of Scotland certainly miſcarried.

Slaves, &c.

We meet with no mention of ſlaves either in the hiſtories or laws of Scotland in this period; which makes it probable that there were not many, if there were any, of that wretched degraded order of men in that kingdom at this time. Several ſevere laws had been made in the preceding period for the puniſhment and ſuppreſſion of thoſe troubleſome people called ſorners and maſterful beggars; and it was found neceſſary to renew and enforce the laws in the reign of James V. A. D. 1535 [232]. A very wiſe regulation was made at the ſame time for ſupplying the wants of thoſe who were really poor and unfit for labour. Every pariſh was to ſupport its own poor, who were to wear badges given them by the headſmen of the pariſh [233].

Such ſeems to have been the condition of the people in their ſeveral ranks, from the higheſt to the loweſt, in the preſent period. A condition certainly not to be envied by us who live in happier times; but not ſo piteous and unhappy as it hath been ſometimes repreſented. The high were not too high to be corrected, nor the low too low to be protected, by the laws.

Parliaments.

Both James IV. and his ſon James V. ruled much by parliaments, which they frequently called. James IV. called eight parliaments in twenty-one years, and theſe aſſemblies were no leſs frequent in

[232] Black Acts 1535, c. 24. [233] Ibid.

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the ſucceeding reign. In this theſe princes acted wiſely. Their parliaments did them many good offices; and if we may judge by their acts, they neither did, nor intended to do them any injuries, by encroaching on their prerogatives or their revenues. The parliaments of Scotland, it is true, interfered in ſome things that are not commonly believed to belong to parliaments; ſuch as the marriages of their kings, the appointing ambaſſadors to foreign courts, and naming commiſſioners for negociating truces and treaties of peace. But they did this only during the minorities, or at the deſire, of their kings; and they provided for defraying all the expences incurred on theſe occaſions. So full a deſcription hath been already given of the conſtitution, forms of proceeding, and other circumſtances of the parliaments of Scotland in the third chapter of the fifth book of this work, that it is ſufficient to refer the reader to that deſcription; as it will ſuit the parliaments in the preſent, as well as it ſuited thoſe in the preceding period [234]. The ſcheme of James I. to divide the parliament into two houſes having unhappily miſcarried, it was never revived; but the number of freeholders ſoon became too great to meet in one place, and many of them too poor to afford the expence of attendance. By a law of James II. all freeholders who have not above twenty pounds a year were freed from the obligation of attending parliament [235]. In the reign of James IV. that ſum was thought too ſmall, and a law was made to excuſe all freeholders who had not above

[234] See book v. c. 3. ſect. 2. [235] James II. act 85.

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an hundred marks a year of rent from their perſonal attendance in parliament, but permitting, or rather requiring them to ſend a proxy, by ſome lord or baron of their neighbourhood [236]. Hardly any accounts of the debates in the ancient parliaments of Scotland are preſerved, and it is probable they were neither very many nor very long, as our anceſtors in thoſe times delighted and excelled more in acting than haranguing. It appears, however, from ſome hints, that there were debates, and theſe ſometimes very warm. From the records of the parliament A. D. 1524, we plainly perceive that there were very hot debates on chuſing the committee *ad articulos*, (on the articles,) between the party of the queen dowager and the party of her huſband the earl of Angus, and that ſeveral proteſts were taken on both ſides. But the minutes are ſo ſhort, that it would not be eaſy to explain the grounds of theſe debates [237]. We know alſo that there were very violent debates on the appointment of the duke of Albany to the regency in the minority of James V.; and ſtill more violent debates on the appointment of the earl of Arran to the regency after the death of that king. But few particulars of theſe debates are preſerved.

The right of making and repealing laws, and impoſing taxes, reſided ſolely in the king and parliament; and we never hear of any of the kings of Scotland in the times we are now conſidering, who attempted to make, repeal, or diſpenſe with laws, to impoſe taxes, or even to demand loans and benevolences

Making laws, &c.

[236] James IV. act 113. [237] Records of Parl. A. D. 1524.

nevolences from their ſubjects by their own authority. The laws were called the king's laws; not becauſe the king had made them, but becauſe the execution of them was by the conſtitution committed to the king. The parliaments of Scotland ſometimes ſet bounds to the undoubted prerogatives of the crown, when they apprehended they were in danger of being improperly exerciſed. An act was made in the parliament A. D. 1503, that the king ſhould not pardon any who had been found guilty of wilful premeditated murder. But this was done (as appears by the act itſelf) at the earneſt deſire of the king, to free him from importunate ſolicitations, and was to continue in force only till it was recalled by the king[238]. No little pains was taken to promulgate the laws, and make them known to all the ſubjects. All ſheriffs, provoſts, and baillies, were commanded to take copies of the acts of every parliament, and to cauſe them to be proclaimed in all cities, burghs, and towns within their bounds[239]. The juſtice-clerk was directed to extract all the penal laws, and give copies of them to all the judges and ſheriffs[240]. The acts of James V. were the firſt that were printed, by Thomas Davidſon the king's printer, A. D. 1541, "That all ſheriffs, ſtewarts, "bailies, provoſts and bailies of burrows, and other "the king's lieges, might have copies thereof[241]."

Execution of the laws.

The beſt and wiſeſt laws are of little uſe, if they are not properly executed by intelligent and upright judges. To this important buſineſs the government

238 James IV. act 97. 239 Ibid. act 60.
240 Ibid. act 77. 241 James V. act 108.

of

of Scotland paid no little attention in the preſent period. As all ſheriffs of ſhires, ſtewarts of ſtewartries, baillies of regalities and baronies, and provoſts and baillies in burrows, were commanded to furniſh themſelves with copies of the laws; ſo they had a ſhare in the execution of theſe laws, both civil and criminal, within their reſpective juriſdictions. Their courts, however, were not ſupreme, nor their ſentences always final, but in many caſes ſubject to be reviewed and reverſed by the king's courts and the king's judges. The king and thoſe to whom he delegated that part of his prerogative were the ſupreme and final judges, from whoſe ſentences there lay no appeal.

The penal laws, or matters of dittay, as they were called, were executed by the high juſticiary, or juſtice-general, whoſe juriſdiction (except in regalities) was univerſal. That great officer, his deputies and aſſeſſors, held juſtice-aires, or juſtice-courts, twice in the year in different parts of the kingdom, for the trial of all within a certain diſtrict who were accuſed of having committed crimes that deſerved puniſhment. Theſe courts were held with great ſolemnity, attended by all the lords, barons, and gentlemen in the diſtrict, and a great concourſe of people. The king was ſometimes preſent at theſe juſtice-aires, which rendered them more ſolemn and more effectual. At one of theſe courts, in May, A. D. 1529, at which the king was preſent, William Cockburn of Hunderland, and Adam Scot of Tuſhilaw, two turbulent predatory barons, were condemned and beheaded; the earl of Bothwell, Juſtice-aires.

the lords Hume and Maxwell, the lairds of Buccleugh, Fairnihirſt, Polwort, and Johnſtone, were impriſoned [242]. James V. is highly and juſtly praiſed for the activity and ſpirit with which he purſued thoſe who fled from, or reſiſted the officers of juſtice. In doing this, it is ſaid, he ſometimes ſpent whole days on horſeback, enduring much fatigue, and expoſing himſelf to no little danger. In one of theſe expeditions he apprehended and hanged no fewer than forty of the banditti on the borders, who had often endangered the peace of the two kingdoms, by their incurſions into England, as well as plundered their fellow-ſubjects. Among others, their leader, John Armſtrong of Giltknockhall, who had laid the north of England for many miles under contribution, was ſeized and hanged, though he offered a great ſum of money for his life. Theſe examples ſtruck ſuch terror into the other lawleſs people of thoſe parts, that they either fled or remained quiet, and the country for ſome time enjoyed ſo much ſafety, that it became a common ſaying, *the ruſh-buſh keeps the cow.*

There were now, and there had long been, ſeveral courts in Scotland for executing the civil laws reſpecting property, and determining diſputes between ſubject and ſubject; as the ſheriff's court, the regality and barony courts, and the baillie's court in burrows. But the juriſdiction of all theſe courts was confined within narrow limits; none of them was of ſufficient dignity, nor the judges who preſided in them ſufficiently learned and reſpect-

[242] Buchan. lib. xiv.

able

able, to be truſted with the deciſion of diſputes of great importance between perſons of high rank, or even with the final determination of matters of leſs moment. At all times, therefore, a court of ſupreme authority and univerſal juriſdiction was neceſſary. Such was anciently the *aula regis*, or king's court, not only in Scotland, but in all the other kingdoms of Europe. This was the great regality court of the whole kingdom, in which the king preſided, the great officers of the crown were the judges, and all who held their lands immediately of the crown were ſuitors. This court ſat in the hall of the king's palace; its authority was ſupreme; its juriſdiction was univerſal; and it received appeals from all inferior courts [243]. The greatneſs of this court, the multiplicity of its functions, with the incapacity and averſion of its members to perform them, occaſioned its decline and fall before the commencement of our preſent period.

Courts.

To ſupply the place of this great court, ſeveral other courts were eſtabliſhed, in ſucceſſion, by the king and parliament. The firſt of theſe, called the Seſſion, was erected in the reign of James I. A. D. 1425, and hath been already deſcribed [244]. But this court was ſoon found to be defective; and ſeveral attempts were made to amend it in the two ſucceeding reigns, but to little purpoſe. One of the great defects of the court called the Seſſion is thus deſcribed in the preamble to the act of parliament for aboliſhing it A. D. 1503: "There hath

[243] Du Change Gloſſ. voce *Curia*.

[244] James I. act 72, 73, 74, 75. See vol. x. p. 104.

"been great confuſion of ſummonds at every ſeſ-
"ſions, ſo that leiſure and ſpace at a proper time
"of the year could not be had for ending them,
"and the poor people are delayed from year to
"year, through which they wanted juſtice[245]."
To remedy this and other inconveniencies, another court was erected by the ſame act, called the daily Council, which was to ſit conſtantly at Edinburgh, or where the king reſided or appointed, "to decide
"all manner of ſummons in civil matters, com-
"plaints, and cauſes daily, as they ſhould happen to
"occur; and that the judges ſhould have the ſame
"power with the lords of ſeſſion[246]." But though this new court remedied ſome of the defects of the former, it was found to be in other reſpects equally ineffectual. Its judges had no fixed ſalaries; and not being bound to attendance by any penalties, they attended ſo ill, that very often a competent number of judges could not be collected to carry on the buſineſs of the court[247]. Political arrangements, though they may appear feaſible in ſpeculation, ſometimes contain defects, which nothing but experience can diſcover.

Papal bull. Complaints againſt the daily council being loud when John duke of Albany arrived in Scotland and took upon him the government, that wiſe prince formed the plan of a ſupreme court of a greater dignity, efficacy, and ſtability, which it is probable he copied from the parliament of Paris, with which he was well acquainted. He was ſenſible that ſuch

[245] James IV. act 92. [246] Ibid.
[247] Lord Kaims's Law Tracts, p. 268.

a court

a court could not be eſtabliſhed on ſolid grounds, without a competent fund for the ſalaries of its judges and other members. The dignified clergy were by far the richeſt body of men in the kingdom, in proportion to their numbers; and the duke propoſed to procure ſome of their ſuperfluous wealth, as a fund for this intended eſtabliſhment. With this view he directed his ambaſſador at the court of Rome to repreſent to the pope, (who was then conſidered as the ſovereign of all the clergy, and the guardian of all the revenues of the church,) that his moſt obedient ſon, James king of Scots, deſigned to eſtabliſh a college of juſtice, compoſed of honourable and learned men, to adminiſter juſtice to his ſubjects, and to petition his holineſs to grant the king a ſum of money annually out of the revenues of the prelates of his kingdom, for the ſupport of his intended college. To render his ſcheme more palatable to the pope and clergy, the duke agreed that one half of the ſenators or judges in his new college ſhould always be clergymen. The pope did not grant this petition till after the duke of Albany had left Scotland and was deprived of the regency. But at length the perplexed ſtate of affairs in Germany and England made both the pope and the clergy more willing to gratify the king of Scotland; and Clement VII., by a bull, A. D. 1531, granted him twelve thouſand ducats of gold a year out of the revenues of the archbiſhops, abbots, and priors of his kingdom, for the uſe of his intended college of juſtice [248].

[248] See the bull in Keith, Append. p. 74.

College of juſtice.

Soon after this bull was brought to Scotland a parliament met at Edinburgh May 17th, A. D. 1532; to which the king communicated his intention "to inſtitute ane college of cunning and wiſe "men, baith of ſpiritual and temporal eſtate, for "doing and adminiſtration of juſtice in all civil ac- "tions; and therefore thinks to be choſen certain "perſons moſt convenient and qualified therefore "to the number of fourteen perſons, half ſpiritual, "half temporal, with ane preſident." The king further deſired the parliament to authoriſe theſe fifteen perſons to ſit and decide upon all civil actions [249]. The parliament approved of the intended inſtitution, ratified and confirmed it, and gave the ſentence and decreets of the new court all the ſtrength, force, and effect that the decreets of the lords of ſeſſion had in all times bygone; *i. e.* that they could be reviewed and reverſed only by parliament. At the deſire of the king, the parliament alſo named the fifteen firſt ſenators of the college of juſtice, or lords of council and ſeſſion, as this new court was called. If the king by his prerogative could have inſtituted this court and appointed the judges, he certainly acted with great condeſcenſion in referring the whole to parliament. But as parliament was in uſe to name the lords of ſeſſion, it was perhaps thought that they had a right to name the judges of that court that was ſubſtituted in its place. The king appointed the lord chancellor, and the abbot of Cambuſkenneth preſident of the new court, to adminiſter the oaths

[249] James V. Parl. A. D. 1532.

to

to the other lords; and directed the whole of the judges to ſpend the next eight days in forming rules for regulating their future proceedings, and to begin to hear cauſes on the Monday following. The rules were firſt approved and ſubſcribed by the king, and afterwards confirmed by parliament; but they are too numerous to be here inſerted, and many of them have been ſince changed[250]. By ſuch ſteps, and with ſuch deliberation, was the ſupreme court of the council and ſeſſion eſtabliſhed. It hath long flouriſhed, and ſtill continues to flouriſh, much improved in the extent of its juriſdiction, the multiplicity and variety of its buſineſs, and the learning of its judges.

This court at its eſtabliſhment appears to have been a great favourite of James V. who granted it a charter, dated at Stirling June 10th, A. D. 1532; in which he expreſſed his approbation of the inſtitution in the ſtrongeſt terms; promiſed to protect the perſons, fortunes, and honours of the judges, and to puniſh ſeverely ſuch as attempted to injure them in any of theſe reſpects, or preſumed to treat them with contempt. He granted them alſo an exemption from all taxes, contributions, and other extraordinary charges in all time to come, and from bearing any office or charge, but with their own free will and conſent[251]. This exemption was probably granted to the judges of this new court on account of the ſmallneſs of their ſalaries, which are not indeed mentioned in this charter; but from the ſcantineſs of the funds we may conclude they Charter.

[250] Black Acts James V. fol. 53—57. [251] Ibid. fol. 57.

could

could not be great. By two of the regulations above mentioned, for directing the future proceedings of this new court, we are informed that ten gentlemen were named by the judges to be advocates, and appointed to plead cauſes before them; and that the judges at the ſame time regulated the fees of the writers to the ſignet[252]: but neither the advocates nor the writers to the ſignet are mentioned in the charter of exemption from taxes and offices; and it doth not clearly appear whether they were then conſidered as members of the college of juſtice, or only as neceſſary appendages to the court, and nurſeries for the bench.

As one half of the ordinary lords or judges of this court, at its firſt inſtitution, were clergymen, and the other half laymen, and the preſident was a clergyman, the clergy had a majority of one on the bench. To counterbalance this the chancellor had a ſeat and vote when he pleaſed, and preſided when he was preſent; and the king had a power (which he exerciſed) of appointing three or four noblemen to be extraordinary lords, and to have ſeats and votes with the other judges, but no ſalaries[253]. Ten other judges and the preſident were a quorum[254].

Nobile officium.

The court of council and ſeſſion was for ſome time very popular, and gave univerſal content[255]. The judges acted with great modeſty, caution, and even diffidence. When a cauſe came before them that appeared perplexed and difficult, inſtead of determining it themſelves, they referred it to par-

[252] Black Acts James V. fol. 56. [253] Ibid. fol. 53.
[254] Ibid. fol. 55. [255] Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 273.

liament

liament for a deciſion[256]. By degrees, however, they acquired more courage and greater confidence in their own abilities and powers. When a caſe occurred to which none of the exiſting laws applied, or when applied led to a rigorous oppreſſive ſentence, they no longer referred it to parliament, but ventured to determine it themſelves, by what appeared to them agreeable to the rules of natural equity and juſtice. The authority by which they did this, at firſt had no name, but it came afterwards to be called their *nobile officium*; which, it was ſaid, was eſſential to every ſupreme court, to enable it to do material juſtice; and that it was peculiarly neceſſary to the ſupreme court of Scotland, in which there was no ſeparate court of equity as in England. Though all this ſeems to be reaſonable, and it is to be hoped that this *nobile officium* hath been generally uſed for the benefit of individuals and of the public, the firſt appearance of it was very unpopular, and excited violent clamours, that the property of the people of Scotland was at the mercy of fifteen men, who determined every thing by their arbitrary will and pleaſure[257]. But this change and theſe clamours did not take place till after the concluſion of the preſent period.

Papal bull.

To render this eſtabliſhment ſtill more firm, if poſſible, king James ſolicited and obtained a bull of confirmation of his college of juſtice from pope Paul III. dated at Rome March 31ſt, A. D. 1535. By this bull the pope not only confirmed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the twelve thouſand ducats

[256] Black Acts James V. fol. 74. [257] Buchan. p. 273.

formerly granted by the clergy, but he alſo gave the king a power to appropriate to the ſupport of his college certain benefices in the gift of the crown as they became vacant, to the amount of two hundred pounds ſterling a year. Further, to pleaſe the king, and to ſhew his favour to his inſtitution, he exempted the preſident and fourteen ordinary lords, their clerks, notaries, advocates, and other officers, (who appear to have been now conſidered as members of the college of juſtice,) from the juriſdiction and viſitation of all archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelates, and took them under the immediate protection of the holy ſee [258]. Thus was this inſtitution fenced and guarded by every ſecurity, ſpiritual and temporal, that could poſſibly be deviſed.

Prerogatives of the crown.

The prerogatives of the crown of Scotland were the ſame in this as in the preceding periods. But theſe prerogatives were never very diſtinctly aſcertained, very firmly eſtabliſhed, or very uniformly exerciſed. They varied with the circumſtance of the kingdom and the characters of the kings; and they were interrupted and diminiſhed by frequent and long minorities, during which the reins of government were much relaxed. It is ſufficient therefore to ſay, that Scotland was a limited monarchy, and that its princes were bound by the conſtitution and by their coronation oaths to govern according to the laws, and by the advice of their parliaments. In particular, it appears to have been a fixed principle, that they could not

[258] Keith's Append. p. 75.

make

make or repeal any law, nor impoſe any taxes on their ſubjects, without the conſent of the three eſtates. The vaſſals of the crown with their followers cheerfully attended the royal ſtandard whenever they were called for the defence of their country; but they ſometimes heſitated, and even refuſed, and could not be compelled to paſs the borders and invade England. This was a conſtitutional, and often a ſalutary reſtraint on the ambition and martial ardour of their kings, which gave them great offence, but to which they were obliged to ſubmit.

The kings of Scotland in this period were undoubtedly poor princes in proportion to the kings of France and England, who were at the head of much larger and more opulent kingdoms; but they were not poor in proportion to their own dominions, to the circumſtances of their ſubjects, and to their neceſſary expenditure. Nor was there any nation in Europe that diſcovered a greater deſire to ſupport their princes in a manner ſuitable to their rank than the Scots. In the records of all the parliaments of this period an extreme anxiety appears to preſerve, improve, and increaſe the revenues of the crown; and many acts were made for theſe purpoſes, ſome of which will be hereafter mentioned.

The ſtated hereditary revenues which the kings of Scotland derived from the immediate vaſſals of the crown, were of the ſame kind with thoſe of every other feudal kingdom, and particularly with thoſe of England, which have been already deſcribed in the third chapter of the third book of this work, to which deſcription (to prevent repetitions) the reader

reader is referred[259]. Theſe revenues, therefore, bore the ſame proportion to their dominions with thoſe of other princes. Beſides theſe, they derived revenues from various other ſources; as from the cuſtoms, on all commodities exported and imported; from the royal mines, which were then valuable, and were wrought by people from Germany; from the revenues of vacant biſhoprics, abbies, and priories; from forfeitures and eſcheats of various kinds; from the eſtates of lunatics, and the goods of convicts; from fines and amerciaments for treſpaſſes and delinquencies of many different kinds; for money paid for grants of liberties, immunities, and privileges, to towns and corporations; from wrecks, waifs, eſtrays, treaſure-trove, &c. &c. Some of theſe revenues were ſmall, but when they were accumulated they were conſiderable, and they bore ſtill the ſame proportion to the extent and circumſtances of their dominions with thoſe of the ſame kind in other countries.

Crown lands.

But the lands that were unalienably annexed to the crown, and were from time to time receiving great additions, afforded the greateſt revenues to the kings of Scotland at this time; and over theſe the parliament watched with as much attention to preſerve, improve, and increaſe them, as any proprietor watched over his own eſtate. It was a fixed principle to which the parliaments of Scotland ſteadily adhered, that the lands of the crown could not be legally and irrecoverably alienated, without the conſent of the three eſtates; and that if a king

[259] See vol. vi. ch. iii. p. 34—42.

granted

granted any of theſe lands without ſuch conſent, it was an illegal deed, which might and ought to be revoked. Theſe lands were conſidered as the eſtate of the nation, of which the reigning king was the uſufructuary, and the three eſtates were the guardians[260]. Theſe were the undoubted principles of the conſtitution. They were often indeed violated, but never forgotten. Favourites prevailed upon kings to grant them portions of the crown lands, but theſe grants were never ſecure; they were ſoon diſcovered by the vigilance, and revoked by the authority of parliament. Of theſe revocations we meet with two or three in every reign[261]. Parliament even took meaſures to prevent kings from giving, and courtiers from ſoliciting ſuch grants. A very remarkable law was made on this ſubject in the reign of James II. A. D. 1454. In the preamble to that law it is obſerved, "That the poverty "of the crown is oft-times the cauſe of the poverty "of the realm, and of many other inconveniencies." To prevent theſe it is ſtatute and ordained in full parliament, "That in every part of the realm, for "the king's reſidence, there be certain lordſhips "and caſtles annexed to the crown, perpetually to "remain, which may not be given away in fee and "heritage or franktenement to any perſon, of what "eſtate or degree whatever he be, without the ad-"vice, deliverance, and decreet of the whole par-"liament, and for great and reaſonable cauſes of

[260] Stat. James I. act 10. 148. James II act 2. 8. 43. James III. act 86, 87. James IV. act 24. 41. 82. James V. act 40. 54. 96.

[261] Black Acts paſſim.

"the

"the realm." The act then declares all grants of annexed lands null and void; that they may be revoked without any law-proceſs, and that thoſe who have enjoyed any of theſe lands by virtue of ſuch grants, ſhall refund all the profits they had reaped from them. It is further enacted, "That "our ſovereign lord that now is, be ſworn, and in "like manner all his ſucceſſors, kings of Scotland, "at their coronation, to the keeping of this ſtatute, "and all the points thereof[262]." It ſeems to have been impoſſible for parliament to have taken more effectual precautions to prevent the alienation of the crown lands, than thoſe contained in this act, which certainly had its effect for a conſiderable length of time, eſpecially as it was revived and confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent acts.

Annexations. The crown lands received great additions from time to time, by forfeitures, reverſions, and ſome other ways; and parliament took care to annex theſe additional lands firmly to the crown ſoon after they came into the king's hands, to prevent their alienation. Of this we meet with ſeveral examples in the monuments of thoſe times; the moſt remarkable of which is that great annexation made by a parliament at Edinburgh, A. D. 1540, of the lands that had been forfeited by the earl of Angus and his partiſans, by ſir James Hamilton, and many others. By this one act all the following lordſhips, lands, and caſtles were annexed to the crown in the ſtricteſt manner: "The lands and lordſhip of all "the iſles, ſouth and north; the two Kintyres,

[262] James II. act 43.

"with

" with their caſtles and pertinents; the lands and " lordſhips of Orkney, Zetland, with the iſles " pertaining thereto, and their pertinents; the " lands and lordſhip of Douglas, with the caſtle, " tower, and fortalice thereof, donations, and advo- " cations of kirks and benefices, and their pertinents; " the lands and lordſhips of Crawford-John and " Crawford-Lindſay; the lands and lordſhips of " Bonkill, Preſton, and Tomtallon, with towers, " fortalices, rents, donations, and advocations of " kirks; the lands of Dunſire; the lands and " lordſhip of Jedburgh-foreſt; the lands and " lordſhip of Kerrymure, with all their perti- " nents; the ſuperiority of all the earldom of An- " gus, and all other lands, rents, and poſſeſſions " which pertained to Archibald ſome time earl of " Angus, the time of the ſaid earl's forfeiture, and " now in our ſovereign lord's hands by reaſon " thereof; the lands and lordſhip of Glamis that " are not holden of the kirk; the lands of Baky, " Balmutus, Tannades, Drumgleas, Longforgund, " and Bathilweis, with the towers, fortalices, advo- " cations, and donations of kirks, and their perti- " nents; the lands of Racklewch, Whitecampt, " Over and Nether Howclewch; the lands and " barony of Ivendale, with the tower and forta- " lices thereof, advocations and donations of " kirks, &c.; the lands and lordſhip of Liddiſdale, " with the caſtle of Hermitage, advocation and " donation, and their pertinents; the lands and " lordſhip of Bothwel, with the tower, fortalice,

" and their pertinents[263]." This was an immenſe addition to the land-eſtate of the crown, already very great.

The parliaments of Scotland not only paid attention to the preſervation and increaſe of the crown lands, but alſo to the faithful collection of their rents, and the improvement of their annual value. For the firſt of theſe purpoſes, they ſometimes choſe certain noblemen of the firſt rank, in different parts of the kingdom, to ſuperintend the collection of the king's rents in their reſpective diſtricts[264]. For the ſecond, they made a law permitting James V. to feu a part of his lands, annexed and unannexed, upon condition that he received an advanced rent[265]. But this law was to continue in force only during that king's life.

When parliaments diſcovered ſo much ſolicitude to ſupport the dignity of the crown, the kings of Scotland could not be poor, in proportion to their neceſſary expenditure, which is the moſt material circumſtance. A prince with great revenues, whoſe expences are ſtill greater, is really poor; and a prince with comparatively ſmall revenues, whoſe expences are ſtill ſmaller, is really rich. This laſt was the ſituation of the kings of Scotland in this period. Their revenues were ſmall when compared to thoſe of the kings of France and England; but their neceſſary expenditure was ſmaller, when compared to that of theſe two princes. The kings of Scotland could form no ambitious projects of

[263] James V. act 54. 75.
[264] James IV. act 26.
[265] James V. act 97.

conqueſt,

conqueſt, with which theſe other princes were almoſt conſtantly inflamed, and on which they exhauſted their treaſures, as well as the blood of their ſubjects. The civil government of Scotland was ſo conſtituted, that it coſt the kings very little. The ſupreme court coſt them nothing: they had no ſtanding army of their own ſubjects to ſupport, and they hired no foreign mercenaries. Wars, which were ſo burthenſome to the kings of France and England, put the kings of Scotland to very little expence. They had no wars but with England, which were either defenſive, or ſudden predatory incurſions. When their country was invaded, all the vaſſals of the crown, with their followers, and even all the ſubjects who were able to bear arms, were obliged to attend the royal ſtandard, to repel the invaders at their own expence. The predatory incurſions were undertaken by martial chieftains and bold adventurers, from the deſire of revenge, or the hopes of booty, ſometimes with and ſometimes without the king's permiſſion, but never at his expence. The kings of Scotland were not even at the expence of the ambaſſadors ſent to England, France, Denmark, and other courts. That expence was defrayed by a ſmall tax impoſed by parliament[266]. In a word, the revenues of the crown of Scotland were chiefly intended for ſupporting the king's court and houſehold in a manner ſuitable to the royal dignity, and

[266] James II. act 51. James III. act 62. 90. 126. James IV. act 22. 45, 46. 72.

for that purpoſe they were more than ſufficient. Accordingly theſe princes married into the greateſt families in Europe; had magnificent palaces, numerous attendants, and lived with ſplendour and in affluence. They never complained of the ſcantineſs of their revenues: they never applied to parliament for ſupplies, or for the payment of their debts: they never once attempted to extort a farthing from their ſubjects, by loans, benevolences, and other oppreſſive arts, which were ſo often employed by the greateſt princes in Europe their contemporaries. They were under no neceſſity of employing ſuch arts.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER IV.

History of Learning, of learned Men, and of the chief Seminaries of Learning that were founded in Great Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

IT was only a very brief account of the ſtate of learning and of the ſeveral ſciences in every period, that was promiſed in the plan of this work in the preface prefixed to the firſt volume[267]. This was all that could with any propriety be introduced into general hiſtory. To have attempted to give regular extended ſyſtems of every ſcience in every period, would have been a moſt prepoſterous abſurd attempt. Such ſyſtems would have been uſeleſs

Account of the ſciences ſhort.

[267] See the General Preface, p. xxi.

and unneceſſary to the learned, and tedious and diſguſting to the bulk of readers; would have quite deſtroyed the ſymmetry of this work, and ſwelled every fourth chapter to an enormous ſize. What was propoſed in the plan is thus expreſſed: "It is "only deſigned to lay before the reader a clear and "conciſe account of the general ſtate of each ſci-"ence; its decline or progreſs; its moſt remark-"able defects and moſt important improvements. "This is all that falls within the province of gene-"ral hiſtory on ſubjects of this nature; all that "can be univerſally uſeful and agreeable, or rea-"ſonably deſired and expected in a work of this "kind[268]." Though ſuch brief accounts of the general ſtate of learning may be of little uſe to the learned in literary hiſtory, they may be both inſtructive and entertaining to many other readers, who have neither leiſure nor inclination to peruſe more voluminous works on theſe ſubjects. They may contribute alſo to diffuſe the fame of thoſe ingenious men who have done honour to their country by their learned labours, and enriched it with the ſtores of uſeful knowledge.

A dark period.

The morning of that auſpicious day which ſucceeded that long night of ignorance in which almoſt all Europe had been involved from the fall of the weſtern empire, had already dawned on Italy, and ſome other parts of the continent, but had not yet reached this little ſequeſtered world of Britain. While learning was reviving in ſome other countries, it was languiſhing and declining in this iſland;

[268] See the General Preface, p. xxi.

and

and the period that immediately preceded the preſent was here one of the darkeſt and moſt illiterate[269]. In every former period, the darkeſt not excepted, ſome extraordinary men aroſe; as the venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, Roger Bacon, doctor Wickliff, &c. who, by the force of their genius and application, diſſipated, in ſome degree, the gloom with which they were ſurrounded, and rendered their names immortal. But in the fifteenth century there was not ſo much as one man in Britain who acquired, or indeed deſerved, a very extenſive or permanent reputation by his writings.

Plan of the chapter.

But our preſent period preſents us with a more agreeable proſpect. A better taſte, and a greater eſteem and love of learning were introduced, and became gradually more general and more ardent. That we may have a diſtinct view of this happy change, which hath been productive of ſo much innocent and rational pleaſure to individuals, and of ſo many benefits to ſociety, it will be proper to give a brief account, 1. Of the ſciences that were moſt ſucceſsfully cultivated: 2. Of the moſt learned men who flouriſhed: and, 3. Of the principal ſeminaries of learning that were founded in Britain in the preſent period.

[269] See vol. x. c. 4. ſect. 1.

SECT. I.

A brief Account of the Sciences that were moſt ſucceſsfully cultivated in Britain, from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

Obſtructions to learning.

GREAT induſtry, and an enthuſiaſtic attachment to literary purſuits, were as neceſſary as genius to the revivers of learning. They had many difficulties to encounter, and few things to animate and encourage them in their labours. Books were ſtill very ſcarce and dear. The art of printing had been introduced into England a few years before. But the firſt productions of the Engliſh preſs were very poor performances, and contributed very little to the improvement of taſte or revival of learning. Honeſt William Caxton, inſtead of printing the Latin and Greek claſſics in their original languages, with which he was unacquainted, printed his own degrading tranſlations of ſome of them from French tranſlations, no leſs degrading, which could give their readers no ideas of their beauties. Inſtructors were ſtill ſcarcer than books. The path was untrodden, and guides could not be procured. Learning was not yet become the road to preferment. The nobility in general were illiterate, and deſpiſed, rather than patroniſed, learning and learned men. "It is enough (ſaid a nobleman to Richard Pace, "ſecretary to Henry VIII.) for noblemen's ſons to "wind their horn and carry their hawk fair, and "leave ſtudy and learning to the children of mean "people,"

"people[270]." Henry VII. was neither a learned nor a generous prince. He employed indeed ſeveral clergymen in his affairs, not on account of their uncommon learning, but of their ſkill in buſineſs and dexterity in negotiations, and to ſave his money, by rewarding them with benefices inſtead of ſalaries. After the reformation had commenced in Germany, and many began to favour it in Britain, thoſe who deviated from the beaten track in their ſtudies were ſuſpected of hereſy, and diſcouraged and perſecuted on that account. But notwithſtanding this, a number of ingenious and induſtrious men appeared in this period, who ſurmounted all theſe difficulties; and by their example, their exhortations, and the beauty and elegance of their writings, brought a better kind of learning into reputation, and gave a happy turn to the taſte and ſtudies of the age.

Latin language.

No province of literature was cultivated with ſo much care and ſucceſs by the revivers of learning in the preſent period, as philology, or the accurate knowledge of languages, particularly of the Latin and Greek claſſics. The neglect into which the works of the philoſophers, poets, and hiſtorians of Greece and Rome had fallen, was one great cauſe of the decline of learning, and of the bad taſte and barbariſm of the middle ages. The revivers of learning, therefore, acted wiſely in beginning its revival, by removing one of the great cauſes of its decline. By acquiring a correct and critical knowledge of the language, ſtyle, and manner of thoſe

[270] Biographia Britan. p. 1236.

excellent

excellent writers, they obtained two great advantages; they had acceſs to all the ſtores of wiſdom and eloquence their writings contained, and to all the pleaſure their peruſal could afford; and by imitating ſuch beautiful models, they acquired the art of communicating their own thoughts to the world in a perſpicuous, elegant, and pleaſing manner. In this art ſome of the revivers of learning, both in Britain and on the continent, ſucceeded to admiration, and wrote in Latin with a claſſical purity not unbecoming the Auguſtan age [271]. The ſucceſs, exhortations, and example, of thoſe eminent men, and of many others, brought the ſtudy of the Latin language into faſhion; the barbarous jargon formerly uſed was deſpiſed; and to be able to ſpeak and write pure and claſſical Latin, was conſidered as a valuable, and even a polite accompliſhment, to which perſons of high rank and of both ſexes aſpired. To aſſiſt youth in the acquiſition of this accompliſhment, the greateſt ſcholars of the age, as Eraſmus, Linacer, ſir John Cheke, and many others, did not diſdain to ſpend their time in writing rudiments, grammars, vocabularies, colloquies, and other books. The haughty monarch Henry VIII., and his no leſs haughty miniſter cardinal Wolſey, ſtooped to employ their pens in writing inſtructions to youth in the ſtudy of this favourite language. The king, it is ſaid, wrote a treatiſe *de inſtituendâ pube*, and an Introduction to Grammar; and the cardinal compoſed a ſyſtem of

[271] Sir Thomas More, doctor Linacer, William Lilly, George Buchannan, &c, &c.

inſtructions

inſtructions to be obſerved by the maſters in the ſchool he founded at Ipſwich, his native town[272]. The cardinal had been a ſchoolmaſter, and was well qualified for giving theſe inſtructions, which are equally ſenſible and particular. James IV. of Scotland was a great admirer of a pure and claſſical ſtyle in writing Latin, and a zealous promoter of the ſtudy of that language. His own letters are written with greater purity and elegance than thoſe of any other prince in Europe[273]. He put his natural ſon, Alexander archbiſhop of Saint Andrew's, a moſt ingenious youth, under the care of the great Eraſmus; and he procured an act of parliament to be made, A. D. 1496, "obliging all "barons and freeholders that are of ſubſtance, to "put their eldeſt ſons to the grammar ſchools at "eight or nine years of age, to remain there till "they were competently founded, and had perfect "Latin[274]." In a word, the Roman claſſics were now ſtudied with ſo much diligence, and the capacity of imitating their ſtyle and manner was ſo much valued, that the ſixteenth century may very properly be called *ſeculum Latinum*, the Latin age.

Greek language.

The reſtorers of learning found much greater difficulty in acquiring the knowledge of the Greek language themſelves, and in perſuading others that the knowledge of it was either neceſſary or uſeful. That copious and beautiful language, in which ſo

272 Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, p. 8, 9. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 223. Ibid. Appendix, No. 35.

273 Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i.

274 James IV. act 87.

many of the philoſophers, poets, hiſtorians, and orators of antiquity had written, was almoſt quite unknown in Britain in the beginning of this period. The celebrated Eraſmus of Rotterdam, the moſt zealous and ſucceſsful reſtorer of learning, came into England A. D. 1497, and went to Oxford with a deſign to teach Greek; but he met with much oppoſition and little encouragement. Many both of the ſecular and regular clergy declaimed againſt him in the ſchools, and even in the pulpit, with great bitterneſs. They railed particularly againſt his Greek New Teſtament, as a moſt impious and dangerous book[275]. He continued, however, to teach there a conſiderable time, encouraged by a few ingenious men, who gladly received his inſtructions, and afterwards communicated them to others, by which a taſte for the ſtudy of the Greek language was gradually excited, not only among the youth, but in ſome members of the univerſity who were far advanced in life. In this, however, little progreſs was made for ſeveral years, owing to the unhappy ſtate of the univerſity, which was frequently viſited and diſperſed by the ſweating-ſickneſs, diſtracted by riots, and diſgraced by the general ignorance and profligacy of its members[276].

The acceſſion of Henry VIII. was an event favourable to learning, for which he had a taſte, and in which he had made ſome proficiency. He was at the ſame time rich and generous, and fond of praiſe, which made many entertain hopes that he would

[275] A. Wood, Hiſt. Univer. Oxon. lib. i. p. 237.
[276] Ibid. p. 240.

prove

prove a liberal patron to men of literary merit. On this event the lord Mountjoy, who was a great admirer and had been a pupil of Eraſmus, preſſed him to come into England; promiſing him the patronage of the king, of Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of other great men. He complied with the invitation, and arrived in London A. D. 1509. After ſpending ſome time with his friend ſir Thomas More, he went to Cambridge, with a deſign to promote the intereſt of learning, and particularly the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, which had been as much neglected in that as in the other univerſity. But though he was patroniſed by the chancellor, Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and appointed profeſſor of Greek, he had little ſucceſs, and found the academicians of Cambridge as ignorant and averſe to ſtudy as thoſe of Oxford. He explained the grammar of Chryſotoras to a few poor ſcholars, who could give him little or nothing for his labour; and his expences far exceeded his gains[277]. So difficult was it to rouſe the ſtudents of thoſe times from that lethargy into which they had fallen, and to correct the bad taſte they had contracted.

Greeks and Trojans.

The diſſenſion between the friends and enemies of the Greek language and learning at Oxford did not terminate when Eraſmus left that univerſity. On the contrary, they were formed into two parties; one of which was called the Greeks, and the other the Trojans. As the Trojans were the moſt numerous, (almoſt all the monks being true Trojans,) they were the moſt inſolent. When a poor

[277] Dr. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, vol. i. p. 37.

Greek

Greek appeared on the ſtreet, or in any public place, he was attacked by the Trojans with hiſſes, taunts, and inſults of all kinds. But the triumphs of the Trojans were not of long duration. The king and his great favourite cardinal Wolſey having warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Greeks, their numbers, their credit, and their courage daily increaſed, the Greek language became a favourite ſtudy, and the Trojans were obliged to quit the field[278].

But after the ſtudy of the Greek language had become faſhionable, a controverſy about the true pronunciation of it aroſe between ſir John Cheke, profeſſor of Greek at Cambridge, and Stephen Gardner, chancellor of that univerſity and biſhop of Wincheſter. This controverſy (a minute account of which cannot be introduced into general hiſtory) was conducted with great modeſty and learning by the profeſſor, who proved by many arguments, that the pronunciation which had been introduced in the dark ages was abſurd and faulty in many reſpects; and in particular, that by giving the ſame ſound to ſeveral different letters, it deſtroyed the beauty, variety, and muſical ſweetneſs of the language, which were reſtored by the new pronunciation. To all this the haughty chancellor replied by a thundering decree, denouncing very ſevere cenſures on all who dared to drop the old, and adopt the new pronunciation[279]. On this

[278] A. Wood, Hiſt. Univer. Oxon. lib. i. p. 246.

[279] Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 17, &c. His Memorials, vol. i. p. 372.

occaſion

occaſion reaſon proved too ſtrong for mere authority: The decree was ſoon diſregarded, and the new pronunciation prevailed, and ſtill prevails. Thus in the ſpace of about thirty years a great change was brought about in the ſtate of learning and the taſte of the learned in Britain, by the labours of a few active and ingenious men, in oppoſition to inveterate habits, ſtrong prejudices, and the indolence, ignorance, diſſolute manners, and bad taſte that had long reigned in the ſeminaries of learning, and were not eaſily overcome. The Roman and Greek claſſics, which had been long neglected, and almoſt forgotten, were ſtudied with the greateſt ardour and ſucceſs; and their ſtyle and manner admirably well imitated by ſeveral Britiſh as well as foreign writers in this period[280]. Some attempts were made to revive the ſtudy of the Hebrew, but not with the ſame ſucceſs.

Wolſey a patron of learning.

The patronage and liberality of the great contributed no leſs than the labours of the learned to the revival of learning; nor was there in thoſe times a more liberal patron of learning and learned men than the famous cardinal Wolſey. This extraordinary man had a genius and taſte for learning, in which he had made great proficiency in his youth, and for which he retained a regard in his higheſt elevation. "Politer learning," ſays Eraſmus, "as yet ſtruggling with the patrons of the "ancient ignorance, he upheld by his favour, de- "fended by his authority, adorned by his ſplen-

[280] See the Works of More, Buchannan, Cheke, Linacer, Collet, &c. &c.

"dour,

" doûr, and cheriſhed by his kindneſs. He invited " all the moſt learned profeſſors by his noble ſa- " laries. In furniſhing libraries with all kinds of " authors, of good learning, he contended with " Ptolemeus Philadelphus himſelf, who was more " famous for this than for his kingdom. He recalled " the three learned languages, without which all " learning is lame[281]." That all this was not flattery is certain. When the cardinal viſited Oxford A. D. 1518, he founded no fewer than ſeven lectures; *viz.* in theology, civil law, phyſic, philoſophy, mathematics, Greek, and rhetoric; and choſe the moſt learned men he could procure to read thoſe lectures[282]. He at the ſame time intimated his intention of doing much greater things for the honour of the univerſity and the advancement of learning, which he executed in part, and, to his unſpeakable ſorrow, was prevented from executing fully, by his unexpected fall.

Schoolmen deſpiſed.

The time and thoughts of the reſtorers of learning in our preſent period were ſo much engaged in the ſtudy of the *belles lettres*, that they could not pay the ſame attention to the ſciences. Theſe remained nearly in the ſame low and wretched ſtate (a very few excepted) in which they had been in the three preceding periods. The philoſophic age was not yet arrived. It would be very improper therefore to encumber the pages of general hiſtory with a dry detail of the trivial changes that were now made in logic, metaphyſics, natural and moral,

[281] Eraſmi Epiſt. lib. vi. ep. 21. [282] Biographia Britan. vita Wolſey. A. Wood, Hiſt. Univer. Oxon. lib. i. p. 250.

philo-

philoſophy, arithmetic, mathematics, aſtronomy, &c. No genius, art, or induſtry could render ſuch a detail either inſtructive or entertaining[283]. The logic, metaphyſics, and philoſophy of the ſchools, which were in high reputation in the beginning of this period, gradually declined as a better taſte prevailed; and as the language of the philoſophers of Greece and Rome came to be better underſtood, and their works more generally peruſed, the barbarous jargon, unintelligible ſubtilties, endleſs diſtinctions, and ponderous works of the ſchoolmen, came to be neglected and deſpiſed. Their volumes, which had been once highly prized and diligently ſtudied, began to be treated with great contempt, and put to the moſt ignominious uſes. The commiſſioners who were appointed to viſit the univerſity of Oxford A. D. 1535, wrote thus to the lord Cromwell: "We have ſet Dunce in Bocardo, and "have utterly baniſhed him Oxford for ever, with "all his blind gloſſes; and he is now made a com-"mon ſervant to every man, faſt nailed up upon "poſts in all common houſes of eaſement. The "ſecond time we came to New College, after we "had declared your injunctions, we found all "the great quadrant court full of the leaves of "Dunce, (*Johannes Duns Scotus,*) the wind blow-"ing them into every corner[284]." The works of the other ſchoolmen no doubt ſhared the ſame fate, thoſe of Thomas Aquinas perhaps excepted, as he was the king's favourite author.

[283] See vol. vi. c. 4. ſect. 1.—vol. viii. and x. c. 4. ſect. 1.

[284] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 210. A. Wood, lib. i. p. 260.

School divinity.

The theology of the ſchoolmen received as ſevere a blow, and underwent as great a change at this time, as their philoſophy; and the ſtudy of the languages, particularly the Greek, contributed as much to the one as to the other. In the beginning of this period, very few theologians underſtood the original languages either of the Old or New Teſtament, or made the ſcriptures their ſtudy. The Bible-divines had been gradually decreaſing in their credit and in their numbers from the thirteenth century, and in the fifteenth they were almoſt quite extinct[255]. The profeſſors of divinity read lectures only on the ſentences of Peter Lombard, or on the ſumms, as they were called, of other ſchoolmen. But when the ſtudy of the Greek language began to prevail, in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the ſixteenth century, ſeveral of the clergy applied to that ſtudy, and became acquainted with the New Teſtament in the original; of which an edition was publiſhed by Eraſmus A. D. 1515[256]. But theſe ſtudies were thought to be dangerous, and were diſcouraged by the great body of the clergy, as tending to make thoſe who applied to them heretics. It ſoon appeared that they had that tendency, and that they paved the way for the reformation that followed. The taſte, however, that ſeveral ingenious men had contracted for this new learning, as it was called, was ſo ſtrong, that they were not deterred by reproaches, threats, and dangers, from communicating the knowledge they had acquired, and recommending the ſame

[255] See vol. viii. ch. 4. ſect. 1.

[256] Eraſm. Epiſt. 181.

ſtudies

ſtudies to others. Doctor John Collet, the founder of St. Paul's ſchool, and one of the moſt zealous revivers of learning, read public lectures at Oxford A. D. 1497, on St. Paul's Epiſtles, without fee or reward. Theſe lectures excited great curioſity, and were attended by crowded audiences; but the lecturer was ſoon interrupted, by an accuſation of hereſy that was brought againſt him before archbiſhop Warham, who had ſo great an eſteem for him, on account of his virtue and learning, that he diſcouraged the proſecution, and ſuffered him to eſcape [287]. After Doctor Collet was appointed dean of St. Paul's A. D. 1505, he preached every Sunday in that cathedral, in an uncommon ſtrain of eloquence; boldly condemning the cold unaffecting manner in which the clergy in general read their ſermons; the worſhip of images; the celibacy of the clergy; and ſeveral ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the church. He encouraged his friend William Grocine, another of the revivers of learning, to read lectures on the New Teſtament in St. Paul's, which were well attended and much admired [288]. Theſe ſermons and lectures, and others of the ſame kind, together with the writings of Eraſmus and the other revivers of learning, diminiſhed the reputation of ſcholaſtic divinity, and excited in the minds of many, both of the clergy and laity, a deſire of becoming acquainted with the ſcriptures, and of drawing their religious opinions from thoſe ſacred fountains, even before Luther began the reformation in Germany. The revivers of learning,

[287] Knight's Life of Collet, p. 50. [288] Id. Ibid.

therefore, contributed not a little to diſcredit the artificial theology of the ſchools, and to introduce the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, by which they prepared the minds of men (ſome of them without intending it) for receiving the doctrines of the reformation. Of this the enemies of the new learning were not ignorant; and they hated Eraſmus, who they ſaid had laid the egg, almoſt as much as they hated Luther, who they ſaid had hatched it [259].

Phyſic, ſurgery, and all the branches of the healing art, were in a very imperfect ſtate at the beginning of this period, and even at the acceſſion of Henry VIII. This we learn from an act of parliament made A.D. 1511: "The ſcience and cunning "of phyſic and ſurgery (to the perfect knowledge "whereof be requiſite both great learning and ripe "experience) is daily within this realm exerciſed "by a great multitude of ignorant perſons, of "whom the greater part have no manner of in-"ſight in the ſame, nor in any other kind of "learning; ſome alſo ken no letters on the book; "ſo far forth, that common artificers, as ſmiths, "weavers, and women, boldly and accuſtomably, "take upon them great cures, and things of "great difficulty, in which they partly uſe ſorcery "and witchcraft, partly apply ſuch medicines unto "the diſeaſe as be very noious, and nothing meet "therefor, to the high diſpleaſure of God, great "infamy to the faculty, and the grievous hurt, "damage, and deſtruction of many of the king's "liege people, moſt eſpecially of them that cannot

[259] Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, paſſim.

"diſcern

" diſcern the uncunning from the cunning[290]." To prevent theſe evils it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould act as a phyſician or ſurgeon in London, or within ſeven miles of it, till he was examined and approved by the biſhop of London or the dean of St. Paul's, aſſiſted by four doctors of phyſic or four expert ſurgeons, under the penalty of ſix pounds for every month he had acted; one half to the king, and the other to the informer: and that no perſon ſhould practiſe in any other part of England, without a licence from the biſhop of the dioceſe, under the ſame penalty. The privileges and rights of the two univerſities were ſecured. This law ſeems to have given a check to quackery, and to have diminiſhed the number of practitioners of ſurgery in London. For two years after, the incorporation of ſurgeons in London, which conſiſted only of twelve perſons, petitioned parliament to be exempted from the obligation of bearing arms and of ſerving on juries, that they might be at all times at liberty to attend their practice. Their petition was granted, and that exemption is ſtill enjoyed by the faculty[291]. The parliament ſeems to have ſuppoſed that twelve regular ſurgeons would always be ſufficient for London; as by the laſt article in the act the exemption is reſtricted to that number[292]. How ſhort-ſighted are the greateſt aſſemblies!

College of Phyſicians.

To reſcue the practice of phyſic out of the ignoble and unworthy hands by which it had been

[290] Stat. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 11.

[291] 5 Hen. VIII. c. 6. [292] Ibid.

diſgraced, and had done ſo much miſchief, another deſign was ſoon after formed and executed. This was the inſtitution of the royal college of Phyſicians in London. This deſign, it is ſaid, was formed by doctor Thomas Linacer, phyſician to Henry VIII., and patroniſed by cardinal Wolſey, at whoſe deſire the king granted a charter September 23d, A. D. 1518, incorporating doctors John Chambre, Thomas Linacer, Ferdinando De Victoria, his own three phyſicians, with Nicolas Hatſwell, John Franciſco, and Robert Yaxley, phyſicians, and the other gentlemen of the faculty in the city of London, into one body, community, and perpetual college. To this college Henry granted various rights, powers, and immunities, by his charter; ſuch as, a right to elect a preſident annually for the government of the college; to have a common ſeal; to purchaſe lands to a certain value; to ſue and to be ſued by the name and title of The Preſident and Community of the College of Phyſicians in London; and to make laws and regulations for the good government of the college. He granted them a power to practiſe as phyſicians in London, and ſeven miles round it; and that none who were not licenſed by the college ſhould practiſe within that bounds, under the penalty of paying five pounds for every month they practiſed. He gave them power to chooſe four of their members annually, to ſuperintend and diſcover all irregular practitioners, and to puniſh them by fines, amerciaments, impriſonments, and other fit and reaſonable ways. They had alſo authority to viſit all apothecaries' ſhops,

and

and examine their medicines, as often as they thought it neceſſary or proper. Finally, the members of the college and their licentiates were exempted from bearing arms or ſerving on juries. This charter was confirmed by parliament A. D. 1523 [293]. This inſtitution was intended and calculated to raiſe the reputation of the medical profeſſion, and prevent the people from being impoſed upon by bold and ignorant adventurers, who ſported with their lives, and robbed them of their money. Theſe two acts of parliament, which were for ſome time ſtrictly executed, had one remarkable effect: —by greatly diminiſhing the number of practitioners, they made the regular practice of phyſic and ſurgery exceedingly lucrative. "The moſt "effectual ſecurity againſt poverty," ſaith Eraſmus, "is the art of medicine, which of all arts is the "moſt remote from mendicity [294]."

Surgeons.

The wiſeſt legiſlators do not foreſee all the conſequences of their laws. The act 3 Hen. VIII. in favour of the incorporation of ſurgeons in London, proved very inconvenient and oppreſſive; and that incorporation proſecuted many well-meaning charitable perſons, who endeavoured to aſſiſt their poor neighbours in diſtreſs, with ſo much ſeverity, that parliament found it neceſſary to interpoſe. An act was accordingly made, 35 Hen. VIII. A. D. 1543, repreſenting in the preamble, "That ſince the act "made in the third of that king, the company and "fellowſhip of the ſurgeons of London, minding only "their own lucures, and nothing the profit or eaſe

[293] 15 Hen. VIII. c. 5. [294] Eraſmi Opera, tom. v p. 661.

" of the diſeaſed and patient, have ſued, troubled, " and vexed divers honeſt perſons, as well men as " women, whom God hath endued with the know- " ledge of the nature, kind, and operation of cer- " tain herbs, roots, and waters, and the uſing and " miniſtering them to ſuch as been pained with " cuſtomable diſeaſes; as women's breaſts being " ſore, a pin and web in the eye, uncomes of " hands, burnings, ſcalding, ſore mouths, the ſtone, " ſtrangury, ſaucelim, morphew, and ſuch other " diſeaſes; and yet the ſaid perſons have not taken " any thing for their pains or cunning, but have " miniſtered the ſame to poor people, only for " neighbourhood and God's ſake, and of pity and " charity." To prevent theſe vexatious proſecu- tions, it was enacted, " That it ſhall henceforth " be lawful to every perſon, being the king's ſub- " ject, having knowledge and experience of the " nature of herbs, roots, and waters, or of the " operation of the ſame, by ſpeculation or practice, " to practiſe, uſe, and miniſter, in and to any out- " ward ſore, uncome, wound, apoſtemations, out- " ward ſwelling, and diſeaſe, any herb or herbs, " ointments, baths, pulteſs, and emplaiſters, ac- " cording to their cunning, experience, and know- " ledge, in any of the diſeaſes, ſores, and maladies " beforeſaid, and all other like to the ſame, or " drinks for the ſtone, ſtrangury, or agues, without " ſuit, vexation, penalty, or loſs of their goods [295]." In this ſtatute the parliament gave the ſurgeons of London a very bad character: " Moſt part of the

[295] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

" ſaid

" ſaid craft of ſurgeons have ſmall cunning, yet " they will take great ſums of money and do little " therefor; and by reaſon thereof, they do often " times impair and hurt their patients, rather than " do them good. It is now well known, that the " ſurgeons admitted will do no cure to any perſon, " but where they ſhall know to be rewarded with a " greater ſum and reward than the cure extendeth " unto: for in caſe they would miniſter their " cunning unto ſore people unrewarded, there " ſhould not ſo many rot and periſh to death; for " lack or help of ſurgery, as daily do [296]." This odious character will not apply to their ſucceſſors in the preſent age.

New diſeaſes.

Humane and ſkilful phyſicians and ſurgeons were never more neceſſary than in the period we are now examining. Beſides the diſeaſes formerly known, two new ones broke out at this time with great violence, and made prodigious havoc. Theſe were, the ſweating ſickneſs, and the *lues venerea*. Of the firſt of theſe diſeaſes an account hath been already given [297]. Of the ſecond, a very ſhort one will be ſufficient. The moſt probable relation of the firſt appearance of the *lues venerea* in Europe ſeems to be the following: The famous Chriſtopher Columbus, the diſcoverer of the new world, landed on the firſt iſland he ſaw in thoſe unknown regions in December, A. D. 1492, and called it Hiſpaniola. There his men contracted that diſeaſe by their intercourſe with the women of the country, where it had long prevailed, and communicated it to the

[296] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 8. [297] See vol. x. ch. 4. ſect. 1. p. 122.

people

people of Barcelona on their arrival in that city in March, A. D. 1493, where it ſoon raged with ſo much violence, that it excited univerſal horror and conſternation. They conſidered it as a plague ſent immediately from Heaven as a puniſhment for their ſins, and endeavoured to appeaſe the offended Deity by maſſes, proceſſions, prayers, and alms. Several companies of ſoldiers, who were generally infected with this new diſeaſe, were ſent from Barcelona, A. D. 1494, to reinforce the Spaniſh army in Naples, for the defence of that kingdom againſt a French army which invaded it that year. What execution theſe ſoldiers did in the war is not recorded, but they did great execution by propagating their new diſtemper in the Spaniſh and French armies, and in the country around. The French, on their return into their own country, A. D. 1495, carried this pernicious preſent with them, and in a few years it was diffuſed into every corner of Europe [298]. In France it was called the Neapolitan, and in Italy it was called the French diſeaſe; neither of theſe nations being ambitious of having its name. The phyſicians ſtood aghaſt at its firſt appearance, and none but the moſt ignorant and impudent empirics pretended to give the unhappy patients any relief. Under their management many died miſerably, and many of thoſe who ſurvived were wretched in themſelves, and objects of diſguſt to others. The two mighty rivals, Charles V. and Francis I., were both infected with this diſeaſe, and to the laſt of theſe princes it proved

[298] Aſtruc on the Venereal Diſeaſe, b. i. c. 5. and 10.

fatal[299]. It was one of the articles of accuſation brought by the houſe of peers, A. D. 1529, againſt the great cardinal Wolſey, "That knowing himſelf to have the foul and contagious diſeaſe of the great pox broken out upon him in divers places of his body, he came daily to your grace, rowning in your ear, and blowing upon your moſt noble grace with his perilous and infective breath, to the marvellous danger of your highneſs, if God of his infinite goodneſs had not better provided for your highneſs[300]." So dangerous and ſo infectious was this diſeaſe believed to be at that time. By degrees the virulence of this odious diſtemper, and the conſternation occaſioned by its firſt appearance, began to abate, and phyſicians became better acquainted with its cauſes, its ſymptoms, and its cure. But theſe are not proper ſubjects for general hiſtory.

SECT. II.

Hiſtory of the moſt learned Men who flouriſhed in Britain, from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

AMONG the learned men who have flouriſhed in the ſame period, in any nation, many of them may have enjoyed a certain degree of celebrity in their own times, but few of them have had their names tranſmitted with honour to poſterity in the annals of their country, on account of the ſuperior excellence and utility of their works.

[299] Aſtruc on the Venereal Diſeaſe, b. i. c. 1. p. 2.

[300] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 44.

Mediocrity

Mediocrity is common, but is ſoon forgotten; excellence is rare, but is long remembered. It will be ſufficient therefore, and all that can be expected in this place, to give a brief account of thoſe few ingenious and uſeful men who were the chief inſtruments of the revival of polite learning and good taſte in Britain in our preſent period, from which we derive ſo many innocent and rational pleaſures, as well as other advantages.

Eraſmus. Though Eraſmus of Rotterdam was not a native of Britain, he reſided ſeveral years in England at different times; and by his teaching, his converſation, and his writings, he contributed as much, if not more, than any other man, to inſpire a taſte for the ſtudy of the Roman and Greek claſſics, which was the firſt ſtage in the reſtoration of learning. He was born at Rotterdam, A. D. 1467, and educated at an illuſtrious ſchool in Daventer, where he began to diſplay that extraordinary genius, and that ardent love of learning, which afterwards rendered him ſo famous and ſo uſeful. Having loſt both his parents when he was only in his thirteenth year, his three unfaithful guardians conſpired to make him a monk, that they might poſſeſs themſelves of his patrimony. His averſion to that way of life was ſtrong, and he long reſiſted all the means that were uſed to prevail upon him to embrace it. At length, however, he was overcome; and in the nineteenth year of his age he made his profeſſion, in a convent of regular canons, with extreme reluctance. He was not long immured in his monaſtery. The genius of young Eraſmus, and his averſion to the way of life he had reluctantly

reluctantly embraced, were not unknown to many; and at length Henry a Bergis, archbiſhop of Cambray, took him out of his confinement into his own family when he was about twenty-three years of age. He continued to wear the habit of his order for ſome time, and was ordained a prieſt two years after he left his monaſtery, to which he was determined never to return; and, by the influence of the pope's ſecretary, to whom he wrote a moſt eloquent and pathetic letter, he obtained a *breve* from Julius II. releaſing him from his monaſtic vows and habit. Being now at liberty, he applied with ardour to his ſtudies, and viſited France, Italy, and England, to communicate and to increaſe his knowledge. In all theſe countries he was well received, and even courted, by perſons of the higheſt rank and greateſt merit, who ſolicited his friendſhip, and were proud of being numbered among his patrons. Attempts were every where made to retain him, by the offer of comfortable ſtations, and the promiſe of more ſplendid eſtabliſhments. But he preferred liberty to every thing, and would accept of no preferment that laid him under the leaſt reſtraint. For ſeveral years he led a wandering unſettled life, depending for his ſubſiſtence on the penſions of his patrons, the occaſional gifts of his friends, and the money he received from his pupils. As he was a bad œconomiſt, and his income was precarious, he was ſometimes reduced to ſtraits, and forced to make complaints. "If I could get money," ſaid he, in a letter to one of his friends, "I would firſt "purchaſe Greek books, and ſecondly cloaths."

Few

Few ſcholars would obſerve the ſame order. On the acceſſion of Henry VIII. a young, rich, and generous prince, he was invited by his friend William lord Mountjoy to come once more into England, and encouraged to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes. He complied with the invitation, and met with the moſt flattering reception, which afforded the faireſt proſpects. "The king himſelf," ſays he, "a little before his father's death, when I "was in Italy, wrote me with his own hand a very "friendly letter, and he now ſpeaks of me in the "moſt honourable and affectionate manner. Every "time that I ſalute him he embraces me moſt "obligingly, and looks kindly upon me; and it "plainly appears that he not only ſpeaks but "thinks well of me. The queen hath endea-"voured to have me for her preceptor. Every "one knows, that if I would but live a few months "at court, the king would give me as many bene-"fices as I could deſire. But I eſteem all things "leſs than the leiſure which I enjoy, and the "labours and ſtudies in which I am occupied. "The archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of Eng-"land and chancellor of the kingdom, a learned "and worthy man, loves me as though he were my "father or my brother; and to ſhew you the ſin-"cerity of his friendſhip, he hath given me a "living worth about a hundred nobles, which, at "my requeſt, he hath ſince changed into a penſion "of a hundred crowns on my reſignation. Within "theſe few years he hath given me more than four "hundred nobles without my aſking. One day he

"gave

" gave me an hundred and fifty. From the libe-
" rality of other biſhops I have received more than
" an hundred. Lord Mountjoy, who was formerly
" my diſciple, gives me a yearly penſion of an
" hundred crowns. The king and the biſhop of
" Lincoln, [Wolſey,] who by the king's favour is
" omnipotent, make me magnificent promiſes."
But all theſe magnificent promiſes came to nothing, and none of them were performed. The cauſe of this is not certainly known: but it diſguſted Eraſmus ſo much, that after a long reſidence of about five years, he left England in diſcontent, A. D. 1516, and never could be prevailed upon to return. During that reſidence he contributed very much to diffuſe and cheriſh a taſte for the ſtudy of the Latin and Greek claſſics, and of other uſeful learning. As the ſubſequent events of this great man's life do not properly come within our plan, the reader muſt be referred to the works quoted below for a full account of them, and of his many learned, inſtructive, and entertaining publications, where he will alſo find the authorities for what is above related[301]. Not to leave this article quite imperfect, it may be proper to mention a few particulars. Soon after Eraſmus ſettled on the continent, Luther began his oppoſition to the church of Rome; and when the conteſt became ſerious and important, both parties endeavoured to engage him to eſpouſe their cauſe. No man was more ſenſible of the corruptions of the church, or more ſincerely wiſhed for their

[301] Knights', Bayle's, Le Clerc's, and Jortin's Lives of Eraſmus. Du Pin, cent. xvi. b. 3.

reform-

reformation, which he flattered himſelf might be brought about by the gentle method of remonſtrances, arguments, and perſuaſions. Being naturally timid, he was terrified at the violence he obſerved on both ſides. He had not courage to join the reformers, who he believed would be cruſhed by the ſuperior power of their adverſaries. His ſincerity would not ſuffer him to appear in defence of errors and abſurdities which he deteſted and deſpiſed. This reſerve was offenſive to both parties, who attacked him in many publications, almoſt with equal ſeverity. This led him, in the laſt years of his life, to ſpend too much of his time in repelling theſe attacks. At length this moſt eminent of the reſtorers of learning, to whoſe works millions have been indebted for entertainment and inſtruction, worn out with unremitting ſtudy, and a complication of diſeaſes, died at Baſil, a proteſtant city, in the arms of his proteſtant friends, July 12, A. D. 1536, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age. In his perſon he was rather below the middle ſtature, elegantly but delicately formed, his complexion fair, his hair yellow, his eyes grey, his countenance cheerful, his voice low, his elocution agreeable, and his converſation exceedingly pleaſant and facetious. He was a warm and ſteady friend and a placable enemy, humane and charitable to the indigent, and to young ſcholars of whom he entertained a good opinion he was liberal and munificent. His reading was extenſive, and his memory retentive almoſt to a miracle. To him the world owes the revival of the *belles lettres*, of critical

critical learning, and of a good taſte. In a word, he was at once the greateſt wit and the moſt learned man of the age in which he flouriſhed [302].

Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor of England, the great friend and admirer of Eraſmus, was, next to him, one of the moſt ingenious and learned men of his age, and one of the chief reſtorers of learning. He was born in London A. D. 1480; and being the only ſon of ſir John More, one of the judges of the king's bench, great pains were taken in his education, which he received partly at Cambridge and partly in the family of cardinal Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury. He gave early and ſtriking proofs of an uncommon genius; and before he was nineteen years of age he had acquired a critical knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and had ſtudied rhetoric and ſeveral other branches of learning. When he was about twenty he became a kind of devotee, faſted frequently, wore a hair ſhirt, ſlept upon boards, and had a great inclination to enter into the Franciſcan order. From this, however, he was diverted by his friends; and in obedience to the commands of his father, whom he never diſobeyed, he applied to the ſtudy of the law. When he was called to the bar, he ſoon became conſpicuous by the eloquence of his pleadings, and was retained in almoſt every cauſe of importance. At the age of twenty-one he made a diſtinguiſhed figure as a member of the houſe of commons, in oppoſition to the court, when oppoſition was more dangerous than it hath been in Sir Thomas More.

[302] Beatus Rhrinanus, vita Eraſmi.

later times. In particular, he oppoſed a bill that was brought into the houſe, A. D. 1503, for a ſubſidy and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the princeſs Margaret to the king of Scots, with ſuch force of reaſoning that it was rejected. At the acceſſion of Henry VIII. Mr. More's reputation and buſineſs were both very great. But in the midſt of the greateſt hurry of buſineſs, in which the whole day was occupied, he ſtole time from his ſleep to purſue his favourite ſtudies, to correſpond with many learned men at home and abroad, and to compoſe his Utopia, which was publiſhed A. D. 1516. It was univerſally admired, tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and raiſed his reputation not a little. Soon after this, cardinal Wolſey caſt his eyes upon him as a proper perſon to be employed in the ſervice of the crown, and made him propoſals for that purpoſe, which he at firſt declined; but afterwards complying, he was knighted, admitted a member of the privy council, appointed maſter of requeſts, and treaſurer of the exchequer, A. D. 1520. He was employed in ſeveral embaſſies, in which he acquitted himſelf with ability and ſucceſs. When Henry VIII. became intimately acquainted with him, he was ſo charmed with his learning and the pleaſantry of his converſation, that he ſent frequently for him to entertain and divert him. This was very diſagreeable to ſir Thomas, as it conſumed too much of his time; and he made uſe of a ſtratagem to get rid of this royal interruption which few would have employed. He affected to be very dull and unentertaining ſeveral times ſucceſſively,

ſucceſſively, and was no more ſent for; ſacrificing the reputation of a wit and the converſation of a king to ſave his time. Though he was now a courtier and a placeman, he was ſtill a patriot, and boldly oppoſed the meaſures of the favourite miniſter when he thought them wrong. Of this he gave a remarkable proof when he was ſpeaker of the houſe of commons A. D. 1523, which hath been already related [303]. He had the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter A. D. 1526, and he probably retained it till he was advanced to a higher. At length, on the fall of cardinal Wolſey, the king fixed upon ſir Thomas More as the moſt proper perſon to ſucceed him as lord chancellor of England; and he was the firſt layman that held that high office. The ſeals were delivered to him October 25th, A. D. 1530, and he accepted of them with real reluctance, for which he had good reaſon. The affair of the divorce, which he diſapproved, was then in agitation; he knew the impetuous ſpirit of the king, that he would not heſitate one moment to ſacrifice thoſe who had been moſt dear to him, when they obſtructed the gratification of a reigning paſſion; and he juſtly apprehended that holding ſo high an office in theſe circumſtances would involve him in difficulties and dangers. He held this office about two years and ſeven months, and diſcharged the duties of it with great ability, integrity, and diligence. The reformers indeed complained, that when he was in power he encouraged and aſſiſted the clergy in all

[303] See chap. I. ſect. 2.

their cruelties to thoſe who were called heretics; and they give ſome examples of this that are truly ſhocking [304]. Theſe complaints were probably exaggerated, but they were not altogether without foundation. Sir Thomas More, with all his great and good qualities, had alſo great defects. It appears from his own works, that he was devoted to the pope and clergy in all things, and that his hatred to thoſe who diſputed any of their claims, or any of the tenets of the church, was exceſſive and inveterate; in a word, that he was a ſuperſtitious bigot; and there is nothing ſo apt to pervert the beſt natures, and prompt them to the worſt actions, as ſuperſtition and bigotry. He reſigned the ſeals May 16th, A. D. 1533, to avoid the ſtorm which he ſaw approaching. By the reſignation of his office he was reduced at once from opulence to an income of about 100l. a year. This obliged him to part with his three daughters, their huſbands and families, who had all hitherto reſided with him, and to diſmiſs his unneceſſary ſervants. Determined never to engage in public buſineſs, he lived with great privacy at his houſe in Chelſea, ſpending moſt of his time in his ſtudies and devotions. But he was not long permitted to enjoy this privacy. The act of ſupremacy paſſed A. D. 1534, and the oath enjoined by that act being tendered to him, he refuſed to take it, and he was ſent priſoner to the Tower. While he lay in the Tower many endeavours were uſed by his friends to prevail upon him to take the oath; and when arguments failed to

[304] Fox, p. 976. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 201, &c.

perſuade,

perſuade, both threats and promiſes were employed: but he remained inflexible. An account of his trial and execution hath been already given, and needs not be repeated; and for a more circumſtantial relation of his actions, his writings, his manners, his virtues, and his failings, than the nature and limits of this work will admit, the reader is referred to the works quoted below [305].

William Grocyn.

If the exact order of time had been obſerved, William Grocyn would have been firſt introduced, as he was in that reſpect one of the firſt reſtorers of learning in England. He was born in Briſtol A. D. 1442, educated in grammar at Wincheſter ſchool, made perpetual fellow of New College A. D. 1467, and preſented by that college, A. D. 1479, to the rectory of Newton Longvile in Buckinghamſhire. His love of ſtudy made him ſtill reſide at Oxford, where he was appointed divinity reader in Magdalen College A. D. 1483. Having a very ſtrong deſire to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which was then almoſt quite unknown in England, he left his country A. D. 1488, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and travelled into Italy. There, in company with ſeveral of his countrymen who had come for the ſame purpoſe, he ſtudied Latin under Angelo Politian, and Greek under Demetrius Chalcondylas, one of thoſe learned men who had fled from Conſtantinople when it was taken by the Turks. Under theſe two excellent inſtructors he made himſelf a maſter of thoſe lan-

[305] Roper's Life and Death of Thomas More. Stapleton, vita T. Mori. Hoddendſden's Life and Death of Sir T. More. Biographia Britannica, article Sir T. More.

guages in about two years, and returned into England to communicate the knowledge he had acquired. He taught Greek publicly at Oxford A. D. 1591, and was the firſt who introduced the new pronunciation of that language. He had the famous Eraſmus for one of his hearers, with whom he contracted an intimate friendſhip, and kept him a conſiderable time in his houſe. When he left Oxford he came to London, and read lectures on divinity in St. Paul's. He reſigned the rectory of Dipden A. D. 1503, and of Newton Longvile the year after; for what reaſon we do not know. He was elected, A. D. 1506, maſter of the collegiate church of Maidſtone in Kent, where he died A. D. 1522, in the eightieth year of his age. Grocyn's reigning paſſion was the love of learning, particularly of the Greek, and to inſpire his countrymen with the ſame taſte. Some years before his death he formed the deſign of giving a correct and elegant Latin tranſlation of all Ariſtotle's works; in which he was promiſed the aſſiſtance of his learned friends Linacer, Latimer, Lily, Collet, and More. But the avocations of his friends, and his own infirmities, prevented the accompliſhment of that deſign [306].

Doctor Linacer.

Doctor Thomas Linacre, or Linacer, one of the great revivers of learning, and the moſt polite and elegant ſcholar of his age, was born at Canterbury A. D. 1460, and educated in the cathedral ſchool of that city, under the learned Mr. William Tilly, who was not a mere ſchool-

[306] A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Tanner, Bibliotheca Britan. p. 345.

maſter,

maſter, but a man of buſineſs, and an able negotiator. Being appointed by Henry VII. his ambaſſador at the court of Rome, he carried his favourite pupil Linacre with him, and introduced him to the moſt famous profeſſors then in Italy, where he ſpent ſeveral years in the ſtudy of the *belles lettres* and of medicine. He acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek under Chalcondylas, and he even excelled his maſter Politian in the claſſical purity of his Latin ſtyle. His proficiency in medicine was ſo conſpicuous, that he was appointed a profeſſor of it in the univerſity of Padua [307]. On his return home, he was incorporated doctor of phyſic at Oxford, and ſoon after he was appointed phyſician and preceptor to prince Arthur and his ſiſter Mary. He came into great practice, and was ſucceſſively phyſician to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. To ſhew his love to his profeſſion, he founded two lectures of phyſic at Oxford and one at Cambridge. He contributed more effectually to reſcue the healing arts from the wretched ſtate in which he found them, by his ſtrenuous and ſucceſsful efforts for the eſtabliſhment of the royal college of phyſicians in London, of which he was the firſt preſident, and to which he gave his own houſe for their place of meeting. In the midſt of all this buſineſs he did not neglect his favourite ſtudies; and his friend Eraſmus often rallied him for ſpending ſo much of his time in the ſtudy of philology. On this ſubject he wrote the Rudiments of Grammar, for the uſe of his pupil the

307 Tanner, Bibliotheca Britan. p. 482.

princeſs Mary, afterwards queen of France; and a much larger work, *De emandata Structura Latini Sermonis, libri ſex*, which was much admired, and paſſed through many editions. For the benefit of thoſe of his own profeſſion he tranſlated ſeveral of Galen's tracts into pure and claſſical Latin, and in ſo maſterly a manner, that they had the appearance of an original work. When he was advanced in life he applied to the ſtudy of theology, was ordained a prieſt, and obtained ſeveral livings and preferments in the church. He died of the ſtone October 20th, A. D. 1524, at the age of ſixty-four, and was buried in St. Paul's, where a monument was erected to his memory thirty years after, by his great admirer, doctor John Caius. If we may rely on the character given to doctor Linacre, by his learned contemporaries who were moſt intimately acquainted with him, his genius for learning was not his greateſt excellence, and his virtues were at leaſt equal to his abilities; in a word, that he was a benefactor to mankind, an honour to literature, and an ornament to human nature [308]. Should ſuch men ever be forgotten?

Doctor Collet.

Doctor John Collet was one of thoſe ingenious men who contributed by their united labours to the revival of learning in Britain in this period. He was the firſt-born of the eleven ſons and eleven daughters of ſir Henry Collet (who was twice mayor of London) by his wife Chriſtian, and was born in London A. D. 1466. After he had received the

[308] See A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 15. Pits, p. 693. Dr. Friend's Hiſt. Phyſ. vol. ii. p. 400, &c. Tanner, p. 483. Biograph. Britan.

firſt

firſt part of his education in his native city, he ſpent ſeven years at Oxford in the ſtudy of the logic and philoſophy of thoſe times. Not ſatisfied with the acquiſitions he had made at home, he travelled into France and Italy, and ſpent about four years in thoſe two countries, where he perfected himſelf in the Latin and Greek languages, and cultivated the acquaintance and friendſhip of the learned. He entered very early into holy orders, and before he went abroad he had been preſented to two livings, and before he returned home he was preferred to a prebendary in York, and to another in St. Martin's le Grand, London. When he returned into England he was not only an excellent ſcholar, but an accompliſhed gentleman; and being naturally high-ſpirited, amorous, gay, and ſprightly, he ſeemed fitter for the court than the church. But having a lively ſenſe of the obligations of virtue and religion, and an ardent love of learning, he ſubdued thoſe propenſities which might have betrayed him into a courſe of life unbecoming his profeſſion, and became as conſpicuous for the purity as the politeneſs of his manners. In Italy he had applied to the ſtudy of theology, had peruſed the New Teſtament in the original with care, and had read the works of ſeveral of the Greek and Latin fathers. After he had ſtayed a few months in London with his friends and family, he went to Oxford, and read a courſe of lectures on St. Paul's Epiſtles, which were received with great applauſe by crowded audiences. By the influence of his numerous

merous friends, without any ſolicitation of his own, he was promoted to ſeveral prebendaries in different churches, and to the deanry of St. Paul's A. D. 1505. Of this laſt office he diſcharged the duties with uncommon zeal, by introducing a more ſtrict and regular diſcipline; by his preaching in the cathedral every Sunday; and by procuring ſome of his learned friends to read lectures in divinity there on other days. In his ſermons on public occaſions he cenſured with great freedom the ignorance and vices of the clergy and the corruptions of the church, which drew upon him a proſecution for hereſy, to which he would probably have fallen a ſacrifice, if he had not been preſerved by the primate, who put a ſtop to the proſecution. He had been three times ſeized with that terrible plague the ſweating ſickneſs, which threw him into a conſumption, of which he died September 16th, A. D. 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. As doctor Collet poſſeſſed a plentiful fortune and generous heart, many were benefited by his bounty. His noble foundation of St. Paul's ſchool will be hereafter mentioned. He made many preſents to his friend Eraſmus, and to other ſcholars who ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance. He compoſed much, but publiſhed little. Several treatiſes that were found in an obſcure corner of his library were publiſhed after his death, and ſome are ſtill unpubliſhed. In his perſon he was tall and handſome, in his deportment graceful and engaging, in his manners he

was

was regular without auſterity, and his preaching was plain and popular. He ſaw and condemned many of the corruptions of the church, particularly the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confeſſion, the worſhip of images, and other ſuperſtitions. Like his friend Eraſmus, he entertained ſeveral of the opinions of the reformed before the reformation, and by his preaching and converſation he prepared the minds of many for their reception [309].

William Lily. William Lily was another of thoſe ingenious and induſtrious men who were the inſtruments of reviving learning in Britain, by introducing the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin claſſics. He was born at Odiham the ſame year (1466) with his great friend and patron doctor Collet. When he had finiſhed his ſchool education he went to Oxford, and became a ſtudent in Magdalen College. But his ſtay at the univerſity was not long. Prompted by the reigning ſuperſtition of the times, he ſet out on a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, which he accompliſhed. On his journey home he reſided five years in the iſland of Rhodes; and with the aſſiſtance of ſome learned refugees from Conſtantinople, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. From thence he went to Rome, and perfected himſelf in the Latin language under two of the moſt celebrated profeſſors in that city. On his return to England he opened a ſchool in London for teaching rhetoric, poetry, and the Greek and Latin languages, which ſoon became famous. When dean

[309] See Doctor Knight's Life of Dean Collet. Tanner, p. 189. Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

Collet

Collet had built and endowed his ſchool at St. Paul's, he appointed his friend Mr. Lily its firſt maſter A. D. 1511, who preſided in it about twelve years with great reputation and ſucceſs. Among other things he compoſed a grammar for the uſe of that ſchool, which is well known by the name of Lily's Grammar in all the ſchools in England. In this, however, he was aſſiſted by Eraſmus, doctor Collet, and Thomas Robinſon, three of the beſt linguiſts in Europe; and it was publiſhed with a preface compoſed by the great cardinal Wolſey, recommending it to univerſal uſe. Of ſuch importance did the education of youth in claſſical learning appear to the greateſt men of that age! He compoſed many other tracts both in proſe and verſe. This moſt uſeful man died of the plague A. D. 1523 [310].

Richard Paice.

Richard Paice cultivated the *belles lettres* with great ardour and ſucceſs, and contributed to introduce a taſte for that kind of learning into England. He was born of poor parents in Worceſterſhire, and was taken when he was very young into the family of Thomas Langton biſhop of Worceſter. That prelate obſerving the ingenuity of young Paice, became his friend and patron, and ſent him to Italy, then the ſeat of polite learning, with a proper exhibition; and in his laſt will he bequeathed to his ſcholar Richard Paice 10l. a year (equivalent to 100l. of our money at preſent) for ſeven years, to enable him to purſue his ſtudies abroad. Supported by this exhibition, he ſtudied ſeveral

[310] Leland, Bale, Pits, Tanner.

years at Padua, Bononia, and Ferrara, where he acquired a critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and a tincture of other learning. On his return home he reſided ſome time at Oxford for his further improvement, and was then taken into the family of cardinal Bainbridge archbiſhop of York, whence he was called to the court, and appointed Latin ſecretary to Henry VIII. Being in prieſt's orders, he obtained ſeveral prebends in different churches, and in October A. D. 1519 he ſucceeded Doctor Collet in the deanry of St. Paul's. While he was ſecretary to the king he was employed in ſeveral embaſſies, in which he acquitted himſelf with great ability and ſucceſs. In his laſt embaſſy to the republic of Venice, A. D. 1525, he was ſeized with a diſorder for which the phyſicians were of opinion his native air would be the only cure; and at his departure the doge ſent a letter to the cardinal, highly commending the ambaſſador for his ability, fidelity, and diligence, which concludes thus: "Finally, I aſſure your moſt reverend "domination, that the reverend lord ambaſſador "hath been moſt faithful and moſt diligent in all "the affairs of his royal majeſty, and that he hath "been moſt attentive and moſt ſtudious to pleaſe "your moſt reverend domination[311]." But, alas! how precarious is court favour! Having in ſome way or other offended the cardinal, he was ſent priſoner to the tower; with which he was ſo much affected that he became inſane, and died in that condition A. D. 1532. He appears to have been a

[311] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 96.

worthy

worthy man, as well as an excellent ſcholar, as he lived in the moſt intimate friendſhip with Eraſmus, More, Tonſtal, Linacre, Collet, and other eminent men, both at home and abroad. He learned languages with peculiar facility, and not only ſpoke ſeveral of the modern languages, but underſtood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic. Though he was much engaged in public employment, he wrote many treatiſes on theological, political, and other ſubjects. One of the moſt curious of theſe is his tract *De fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur*—"Of the benefits that are derived from "Learning[312]."

It is pleaſant to remark, that all theſe reſtorers of learning in this period were virtuous men and ſincere friends; that they co-operated moſt cordially in promoting the objects they had in view; aſſiſted each other in their labours, and in repelling the attacks that were made upon any of them; and that they advanced the fame of one another by mutual and well-founded commendations. This reflected honour on literature, and contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of their efforts for its reſtoration. Emulation is indeed a ſpur to induſtry and exertion, and may exiſt among the ſincereſt friends; but when it is accompanied and excited by envy and malevolence, it brings reproach upon learning, gives a wrong direction to induſtry, and renders it rather hurtful than beneficial to ſociety. The wiſe and virtuous, in their ſharpeſt conflicts, will guard againſt rancour and aſperity.

[312] Bale, Pits, Tanner.

Several

Several other men of learning and genius flouriſhed in England in this period; as Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, ſir John Cheke, John Leland, &c. &c.

A taſte for the ſtudy of polite learning, or the *belles lettres*, revived in Scotland about the ſame time that it revived in England; and this taſte was cheriſhed by government, and even enforced by law. By an act of parliament already quoted, every freeholder of ſubſtance was obliged to keep his eldeſt ſon at ſome grammar ſchool till he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin language, and then to put him three years to ſome univerſity to ſtudy philoſophy and the laws. In conſequence of this prevailing taſte, a competency at leaſt of learning became gradually more general among the gentlemen, and even among the common people of Scotland, than in any other country of Europe; and ſeveral ingenious men in this period became eminent for their claſſical erudition. But of theſe our limits will permit us only to mention a very few. Scotland.

Gavin Douglas, biſhop of Dunkeld, was not only one of the greateſt poets, but alſo one of the beſt ſcholars and moſt amiable men of his age. He was the third ſon of Archibald, commonly called Bell the Cat, ſixth earl of Angus, and uncle to Archibald the ſeventh earl, who married Margaret queen dowager of Scotland, the eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII.[313] He was born about 1472, and

[313] Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſſes, p. 219.

having

having early diſcovered a taſte for learning, he was deſtined for the church, in which, from the power and influence of his family, he had a proſpect of the higheſt promotions. He received the firſt part of his education at home, and when he had gone through a courſe of philoſophy in the univerſity of St. Andrew's, he went to Paris for his further improvement. There he ſpent ſeveral years in ſtudy, and acquired an uncommon ſtock of knowledge of various kinds, though he delighted moſt in poetry and the *belles lettres*. On his return to Scotland he was promoted to the provoſtry of St. Giles in Edinburgh, and to ſeveral other livings, and among others to the rich abbey of Arbroath. He enjoyed little comfort in this promotion, owing to the troubles in which his country was involved in the minority of James V. He was preſented by the queen-regent to the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's; but he had two formidable competitors, John Hepburn the prior, elected by the chapter, and Andrew Forman biſhop of Moray, nominated by the pope; and he ſoon relinquiſhed his claim, and left the other two to contend for the prize. Apprehenſive of danger in his own country, from the violence of faction, he obtained a ſafe-conduct for himſelf and thirty perſons in his company, to come into England, from Henry VIII. January 23d, A. D. 1515[314]. But he did not make uſe of that ſafe-conduct; for the biſhopric of Dunkeld becoming vacant, he obtained it by a bull from Leo X. and was conſecrated by James Beaton, archbiſhop

[314] Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 473.

of

of Glaſgow, the ſame year. But as he owed his promotion to a papal bull, he was impriſoned by the duke of Albany a whole year for trafficking with Rome. This was a ſevere and partial act. The primate archbiſhop Foreman had been promoted only a few months before in the ſame manner without incurring any cenſure. This ſeverity to ſo near a relation and ſo good a man, ſo much alarmed the queen and her huſband the earl of Angus, that they retired into England. The earl after ſome time was prevailed upon to return, and his uncle was ſet at liberty. When the duke of Albany returned to France A. D. 1517, he carried the biſhop of Dunkeld with him, under a pretence of doing him honour, but in reality as a hoſtage for the good behaviour of his nephew and his friends in his abſence. The biſhop was permitted to return home the year after with the ratification of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. In the fierce conteſt that enſued between the Hamiltons and Douglaſſes, our good prelate acted the part of a peace-maker with great zeal, but without ſucceſs: and after the defeat of the Hamiltons in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, he ſaved the life of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who had acted the part of an incendiary. When the duke of Albany returned to Scotland A. D. 1521, the perſecution of the Douglaſſes was renewed, and our prelate retired privately into England to avoid the ſtorm, and to prepare an aſylum for his friends. As ſoon as his retreat was known, all his goods were confiſcated,

and the revenues of his ſee ſequeſtered [315]. He met with a moſt kind reception from Henry VIII. and was careſſed by all the moſt eminent perſons in the court of England. In the mean time the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's became vacant, and Henry exerted all his influence at the court of Rome to procure the promotion of the biſhop of Dunkeld to that ſee. His competitor, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, (whoſe life he had lately ſaved,) wrote to Chriſtiern king of Denmark, earneſtly intreating him to counteract the intereſt of the king of England at the court of Rome with all his might, and giving his rival a moſt odious character, as a rebel to his king and an enemy to his country [316]. But a ſuperior power put an end to this conteſt. The biſhop of Dunkeld died of the plague at London in April A. D. 1522 [317]. As the works of this learned and excellent but unfortunate prelate, which do ſo much honour to his name and country, were poetical, they come moſt properly into the hiſtory of poetry, in the next chapter of this book.

Patrick Panter.

Patrick Panter, Latin ſecretary to king James IV. was one of thoſe who, by applying with peculiar ardour to the acquiſition of claſſical learning, and the imitation of the writers of the Auguſtan age, contributed to introduce a better taſte, and to give a better direction to the ſtudies of their countrymen, than that which had long prevailed. He was born in the town of Montroſe about A. D. 1470; and having gone through a courſe of education at home,

[315] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 328. [316] Ibid. p. 333.
[317] Buchan. lib. xiv. Leſly, lib. ix. Spotſwood, Tanner, Bale.

he

he went to Paris, (as was then the cuſtom,) where he ſpent ſeveral years in the proſecution of his ſtudies. On his return to Scotland he entered into holy orders, became rector of Fetterriſſo in the Mearns, Maſter of *Domus Dei* in Brechin, and preceptor to Alexander Stewart the king's natural ſon. In that office he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that when his pupil was put under the care of the great Eraſmus about A. D. 1505, his royal maſter rewarded him with the abbacy of Cambuſkenneth, and took him into his own ſervice as his ſecretary; a ſtation for which he was peculiarly fitted, and in which he did honour to his king, his country, and himſelf, by the elegance and claſſical purity of the language of his diſpatches[318]. In that office he continued during the king's life and the regency of the queen. As he was attached to the party of the queen and her ſecond huſband the earl of Angus, he was repreſented as a dangerous man to the duke of Albany, who, on ſome pretence or other, threw him into priſon. But when that prince was better informed of his worth and abilities, he releaſed him from priſon, reſtored him to his office, and carried him with him into France. There he fell into a lingering diſeaſe, of which he died at Paris A. D. 1519[319].

Hector Boethius, or Boyce, was a native of Dundee, and born about A. D. 1466. After he had finiſhed a courſe of education in the univerſity of St. Andrew's, he went to Paris, where he ſtudied Boethius.

[318] See Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, Edinburgi 1722.

[319] Præfat. Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum.

ſeveral years in the college of Montacute, in which he was advanced to a profeſſor's chair. On his return to Scotland he was appointed principal of the newly-founded univerſity of Aberdeen, and had ſome other preferments in the church. When he reſided in France he contracted a friendſhip with Eraſmus, by whom he was much eſteemed and commended, for his taſte, his learning, and other good qualities. He compoſed ſeveral treatiſes upon various ſubjects; but his principal work was—*Hiſtoria rerum Scoticarum a prima gentis origine ad* A. D. 1436—"A Hiſtory of the Scots from the "Origin of the Nation to the Year 1436." It is with the ſtyle of this work only that we are here concerned, and that hath been highly admired, and affords a ſufficient proof of his good taſte and claſſical erudition, which entitles him to be ranked among the reſtorers of learning [320].

An account of ſeveral other writers who flouriſhed in Scotland in this period, and contributed in ſome degree to the revival of learning, might be here inſerted; but this would exceed our limits, and to many readers of general hiſtory would appear tedious. It is ſufficient to remark, that the youth of Scotland at this time, in proportion to their numbers, diſcovered as good a taſte, and as great a thirſt for knowledge, as thoſe of England, though they laboured under ſome diſadvantages; particularly many of them not finding proper eſtabliſhments at home, were obliged to ſeek for them in foreign countries. The hiſtory of John Leſley

[320] Nicolſon's Scots Hiſt. Tanner, Bale, Dempſter.

biſhop of Roſs, and of his great opponent in politics Mr. George Buchannan, belongs to the ſucceeding period.

SECT. III.

Hiſtory of the principal Seminaries of Learning that were founded in Great Britain from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

THOUGH many ſuperb and richly endowed ſchools and colleges for the education of youth and encouragement of learning had been already eſtabliſhed in Britain; particularly in England, their numbers and riches ſtill continued to increaſe. In our preſent period of only ſixty-two years, three colleges were founded in Oxford and five in Cambridge, and the two illuſtrious ſchools of Ipſwich and St. Paul's. In Scotland a new univerſity was founded at Aberdeen, and a new college in St. Andrew's. Of all which foundations and their founders a very brief account ſhall now be given.

Brazen-noſe College.

Brazen-noſe College in Oxford was founded on the ſite of Brazen-noſe-hall (from which it derived its name) by William Smith biſhop of Lincoln, and ſir Richard Sutton of Preſbury in Cheſhire. Theſe two founders having purchaſed certain contiguous halls, houſes, and gardens, in Oxford, obtained a charter from Henry VIII. A. D. 1511, authoriſing them to build their intended college, and to purchaſe and endow it with lands to the value of 300l.

a-year. The buildings were then begun, but biſhop Smith, one of the founders, died before they were finiſhed. The foundation-charter for the college, to conſiſt of a principal, twelve fellows, and ſixty ſcholars, was executed by ſir Richard Sutton, the ſurviving founder, February 1ſt, A. D. 1521. The revenues of this college, as well as thoſe of all the other colleges in Oxford, were very much increaſed by a ſucceſſion of benefactors[321].

Corpus Chriſti College.

Richard Fox, ſucceſſively biſhop of Exeter, Bath, Durham, and Wincheſter, was the founder of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford. This prelate acted an important part both in church and ſtate in the reigns of Henry VII. and of Henry VIII. When he was proſecuting his ſtudies at Paris, he became acquainted with cardinal Morton, (then in exile,) who prevailed upon him to join Henry earl of Richmond in his expedition into England A. D. 1485. He had no reaſon to repent of that ſtep. The expedition was ſucceſsful, the earl mounted the throne, doctor Fox was immediately admitted into the council, and appointed keeper of the privy ſeal. Few were more employed or better rewarded by Henry VII. in whoſe reign he was ſucceſſively promoted to the ſees of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Wincheſter. In his old age, he began to conſider how he ſhould diſpoſe of the riches he had accumulated, and his firſt intention was, to build a ſmall college in Oxford, to be a ſeminary for the education of the novices of the priory of St. Swithin, his cathedral in Wincheſter. But when

[321] A. Wood, Hiſt. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 212; &c.

the

the building was far advanced, he was perſuaded by Hugh Oldham, biſhop of Exeter, to change his plan, and to found a much larger college, for the benefit of ſtudious youth in general, to which he promiſed to become a benefactor. In compliance with this advice, he founded, by a charter dated March 1ſt, A. D. 1517, a college for a principal and thirty ſcholars, to be called *Corpus Chriſti* College, in Oxford. He founded alſo three lecture-ſhips in the college; one for the *belles lettres*, of which John Ludovicus Vives was the firſt reader; one for the Greek language, and one for theology. Biſhop Oldham performed his promiſe, by contributing 1000 marks to the buildings, and by the grant of an eſtate. His example was followed by many other benefactors [322].

Cardinal College.

Cardinal Wolſey was one of thoſe men whoſe minds expand with their fortunes. Though his birth was humble, when he attained to power and opulence he diſplayed a moſt magnificent and princely ſpirit. Of this the noble plan he formed, and the ſplendid expenſive preparations he made, for founding a college in Oxford, which, for the magnificence of its ſtructure, the richneſs of its furniture, the number of its members, and the greatneſs of its revenues, would have exceeded every ſeminary of learning in the world, afford a ſufficient proof. To accompliſh this, he obtained two bulls from pope Clement VII. empowering him (with the king's conſent) to diſſolve the priory of St. Frideſwade in Oxford, and as many other ſmall religious houſes

[322] A. Wood, Hiſt. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 23a.

as he thought proper, and to apply their revenues, lands, and goods to the endowment of his intended college[322]. To the execution of theſe bulls the king gave his conſent, and granted him a charter, dated July 3d, A.D. 1525, authoriſing him to found a college in Oxford, to be called Cardinal College, and to endow it with lands and revenues to the amount of 2000l. a year[323]: a very great revenue in thoſe times. The year after, the king granted the cardinal for the benefit of his college no fewer than five charters, containing a great number of privileges and immunities, with a power of impropriating about ſeventy rectories, in addition to its revenues[324]. The cardinal having thus provided ample revenues for the members of his college, the foundation of it was laid July 15th, A.D. 1525; and, as great numbers of artificers of all kinds were employed, the buildings advanced with great rapidity. As ſoon as apartments were ready for their reception, he introduced a dean and eighteen canons, which he deſigned afterwards to increaſe to one hundred and eighty, or two hundred. In the mean time he expended prodigious ſums of money, not only on the buildings, but in providing ſtatues, pictures, plate, jewels, books, veſtments, furniture, and every thing that could be either uſeful or ornamental to his favourite eſtabliſhment. He prepared alſo a book of ſtatutes for its government; from which it appears that it was to have conſiſted of a dean, a ſub-dean, ſixty canons of the firſt claſs,

[322] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 15. 32. [323] Ibid. p. 39.
[324] Ibid. p. 55—75. Strype, vol. i. Append. No. 28, 29.

forty

forty canons of the ſecond claſs, (who were all to devote themſelves to ſtudy,) thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, ſixteen choriſters for performing the ſervice in the college church, four cenſors, three treaſurers, four collectors, and twenty ſervants. In a word, the cardinal neglected nothing to render his college (which he expected would tranſmit his name with honour to poſterity) ſuperior in all reſpects to every other college. But he neglected one thing, which proved fatal to the whole. Being under no apprehenſion of his diſgrace, which fell upon him like a clap of thunder, he neglected to execute the foundation charter, and convey the revenues, lands, and goods to the college, which he had provided for it with ſo much care. All theſe, therefore, being ſtill his own property, when he was found in a præmunire, they were forfeited to the king [325]. The ſpoil was great, and it was ſeized with eagerneſs. The lands were ſold, or granted to craving courtiers, and all the precious moveables diſſipated. Thus fell Cardinal College before it was half finiſhed, to the nó ſmall regret of the friends of learning; as it prevented the execution of a deſign which the cardinal had formed, of procuring copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for the library of his college.

College of Henry VIII.

After all the works of Cardinal College had been interrupted about four years, and the unfiniſhed buildings tended to ruin, the king was prevailed upon to found a college in the ſame place, to be called the College of King Henry VIII. But though

[325] Wood, lib. ii. p. 246.

this

this was a royal foundation, it was on a much ſmaller ſcale than that of the cardinal; as it conſiſted only of a dean and twelve ſecular canons. Nor was this college of much longer duration than the former. Doctor John Oliver, the ſecond dean, reſigned his college and all its revenues to the king May 20th, A. D. 1545 [326].

Chriſt's Church.

Henry having thus diſſolved his own college, he ſoon after made it the ſeat and cathedral of the biſhop of Oxford, by the name of the Cathedral of Chriſt's Church in Oxford, founded by Henry VIII. This new ſociety was compoſed of a biſhop, a dean, and eight canons. To the dean and canons he granted all the buildings, lands, and revenues of his late college, on condition that they paid the following ſtipends to the following perſons: to eight minor canons, each 10l.; to a goſpeller, 8l.; to a poſtellator, 6l, 13s. 4d.; to eight clerks, each 6l. 13s. 4d.; to the maſter of the ſinging boys, 13l. 6s. 8d.; to the organiſt, 10l.; to eight ſinging boys, each 7l. 13s. 4d.; to three public profeſſors in the univerſity, one of theology, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek, each 40l.; to ſixty ſcholars or ſtudents, each 8l.; to the firſt ſchoolmaſter, 20l.; to the ſecond ſchoolmaſter, 10l.; forty ſchool-boys [327].

The number of colleges founded in Cambridge in this period exceeds that of thoſe founded in Oxford, if we reckon Cardinal College, the College

326 Wood, lib. ii. p. 251. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 443.
327 Wood, lib. ii. p. 246.

of

of Henry VIII. and Chriſt's Church, only one foundation.

The nuns of St. Radigund in Cambridge had become ſo profligate that they were expelled, and their houſe, with its revenues and lands, (which were of conſiderable value,) were granted by Henry VII. A. D. 1496, to John Alcock biſhop of Ely, who converted the nunnery into a college, for one maſter, ſix fellows, and ſix ſcholars, and dedicated it to Jeſus, the Virgin Mary, and St. Radigund. The revenues of this college were afterwards increaſed by many benefactors [328]. Jeſus College.

The lady Margaret counteſs of Richmond, and mother to Henry VII. founded Chriſt's College in Cambridge A. D. 1505, for one maſter, twelve fellows, and forty-ſeven ſcholars, and endowed it with lands of conſiderable value in ſeveral counties [329]. Chriſt's College.

The ſame illuſtrious lady founded St. John's College in this univerſity A. D. 1508, but did not live to ſee it finiſhed: the works however were carried on and completed by her executors. Several of the eſtates that had been granted to this college, to the amount of 400l. a year, were evicted from it in the reign of Edward VI. whether juſtly or unjuſtly cannot now be diſcovered, though Mr. Aſcham affirms it was owing to the rapacity of greedy courtiers [330]. This loſs, however, was repaired by a long train of forty-eight benefactors, which enabled this foundation to ſupport a maſter, St. John's College.

[328] Fuller's Hiſt. Univer. Camb. p. 85. [329] Ibid. p. 90.
[330] Ibid. p. 94.

fifty-

fifty-four fellows, and eighty-eight ſcholars, with officers and ſervants.

Maudlin College.

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, one of the greateſt ſubjects in England, deſigned to have enlarged the buildings and revenues of an old houſe called Monk's College, and to have given it the name of Buckingham college. But before he had proceeded far in the execution of this deſign, he was tried, condemned, and executed for high treaſon May 17th, A.D. 1521. After the buildings had been ſeveral years ſuſpended, Thomas lord Audley, chancellor of England, founded and endowed a college on the ſame ſite, which he named Magdalen, commonly called Maudlin College [331].

Trinity College.

Henry VIII. having got poſſeſſion of three adjacent halls, razed them to the ground, and erected on the area, and richly endowed, a large, regular, and magnificent college A.D. 1536, dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity, and thence called Trinity College. Great additions have been made to the revenues of this college by ſubſequent benefactors, which have rendered it one of the greateſt, richeſt, and moſt noble foundations of the kind in Europe. Henry at the ſame time founded four profeſſorſhips in Cambridge; one of theology, one of law, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek; with each a ſalary of 40l. a year [332].

Though the univerſities of Scotland are not to be compared with thoſe of England, for the number of their colleges, their magnificence, and the greatneſs

[331] Fuller's Hiſt. Univer. Cam. p. 121.
[332] Ibid. p. 122—124.

of

of their revenues; yet they ſeem, in ſome reſpect, to have advantages, of which I ſhall only mention one at preſent. Being four in number, and ſituated in different cities of the kingdom, they are better known and more acceſſible. Every one knows that there is an univerſity at no great diſtance from him, and that he may give his ſon an univerſity education without ſending him far from home. In conſequence of this, a tincture of learning at leaſt is very general in Scotland, where there are no clergymen, and very few gentlemen, who have not had an univerſity education.

With a view to this particular advantage, James IV. applied to pope Alexander VI. to give his ſanction to the eſtabliſhment of an univerſity in his city of Aberdeen, for the accommodation of the people of the northern and highland parts of his dominions, who, being at a great diſtance from the ſeats of learning, were more rude and ignorant than his other ſubjects. In compliance with this application, the pope (without whom nothing could be done in thoſe times) iſſued a bull at Rome February 10th, A. D. 1494, erecting an univerſity in the city of Old Aberdeen, for the ſtudy of theology, civil and canon law, medicine, the liberal arts and ſciences, and all lawful faculties, and granting it all the immunities, rights, and privileges enjoyed by any other univerſity or general ſtudy. By this bull of erection, the pope appointed William Elphingſton, biſhop of Aberdeen, (who was the real founder,) to be chancellor of the new univerſity, and his ſucceſſors in the ſee of Aberdeen to ſucceed him

him in that office. The bull was confirmed by a charter A. D. 1498; in which the king appropriated the parish church of Slains, with its tithes and patronage, which received, by a subsequent bull A. D. 1500, an extensive and independent jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and temporal questions. The first foundation was established by the bishop in 1505, and contained thirty-six persons; a principal, canonist, civilian, a professor of medicine, a sub-principal, and grammarian, five masters of arts, studying theology, and instructing the scholars in poetry and rhetoric; thirteen scholars, eight prebendaries to officiate as chaplains, and four singing-boys. But the bishop was afterwards enabled to enlarge the foundation, by a more liberal endowment, for forty-two persons; four doctors, eight masters, and three bachelors of arts, thirteen scholars, eight chaplains, and six singing-boys. The masters remained in the university six years, studying theology and teaching the arts; after which they obtained the degree of doctor, and removed from the university to make way for others. The experience of thirty-six years discovered that a succession of new teachers was extremely inconvenient, and that the masters dismissed after six years study were not always sufficiently qualified to be doctors of divinity. Another papal bull was therefore obtained A. D. 1538, permitting those that studied divinity to reside in the university, and exercise their functions during the chancellor's pleasure, and till others were qualified and desirous to succeed them.

A second

A ſecond college was founded in the univerſity of St. Andrew's in this period, by James Stewart, natural ſon of James IV., the archbiſhop, and John Hepburn the prior, and the chapter of St. Andrew's, called the College of Poor Clerks, or St. Leonard's College, from its vicinity to St. Leonard's church. It appears from the foundation-charter, that there had been an hoſpital in the ſame place, for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims of different nations, who crowded to St. Andrew's, to pay their devotions to the arm of St. Andrew, which wrought a great many miracles. At length, however, the ſaint's arm being tired with that laborious kind of work, or thinking he had done enough, the miracles and the conflux of pilgrims ceaſed, and the hoſpital was deſerted. The prior and convent, who had been the founders and were the patrons of the hoſpital, then filled it with old women. But theſe old women produced little or no fruit of virtue or devotion, and were turned out. The prior and convent having repaired the church and hoſpital of St. Leonard, reſolved to convert them into a college, to conſiſt of a maſter, or principal; four chaplains, two of which were to be regents; and twenty ſcholars, who were firſt to be taught the languages, and then the liberal arts and ſciences; and ſix of them who were thought moſt fit, ſhould then apply with great ardour and vehement reading to the ſtudy of theology under the principal. Such of theſe ſcholars as were found fitteſt for it were to be taught muſic, both plain ſong and deſcant. The foundation-charter to this purpoſe

purpoſe was executed by the archbiſhop, the prior, and chapter, at St. Andrew's, Auguſt 20th, A. D. 1512. By another charter the prior and chapter endowed this college with all the houſes, lands, and revenues which had belonged to St. Leonard's hoſpital. Both theſe charters were confirmed by royal charter, dated at Edinburgh February 20th, A. D. 1513 [333].

Nurſeries for the education of youth, and preparing them for the univerſities, were not now wanting in any conſiderable town in Britain; and ſome very illuſtrious ones were found in this period; as St. Paul's ſchool by doctor Collet, Ipſwich ſchool by cardinal Wolſey, Weſtminſter ſchool by Henry VIII. and many others, both in England and Scotland.

[333] Ex Archiv. Univerſ. St. And.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER V.

History of the Arts in Great Britain, from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Acceſſion of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

SECTION I.

Hiſtory of the neceſſary and uſeful Arts.

FROM the acceſſion of the Tudors, and the union or extinction of thoſe factions that diſtracted England, a period of comparative tranquillity commences; a long period, protracted almoſt to the middle of the ſeventeenth century, during which the Engliſh nation was neither exhauſted by its wars abroad, nor much diſquieted by

domeſtic ſedition. Such repoſe was propitious to arts and commerce; and the country, recovering from the calamities of internal diſcord, continued afterwards in a ſtate of ſlow, but progreſſive improvement. A few years ſuffice to repair the diſaſters inflicted by war; but during the period allotted to the preſent volume, the effects of the civil wars were ſometimes prolonged, after the cauſes from which they originated had ceaſed to operate.

Agriculture exchanged for paſturage.

To the devaſtations produced by the civil wars may be juſtly attributed the decay of population, and in ſome meaſure the decreaſe and diſappearance both of predial and domeſtic ſervitude. The bondſmen, ſo numerous formerly, were either conſumed in battle, emancipated for their ſervices, or enabled, by the frequent fluctuations of property, to regain their freedom. Proprietors were obliged to convert into paſturage thoſe demeſnes which their ſlaves and cottagers had formerly cultivated [334]; and while the eſtates of either party were alternately waſted, it was ſoon diſcovered that flocks and herds were better adapted, than the produce of agriculture, to ſuch troubleſome times. They might be removed with eaſe on the irruption of an enemy, or diſpoſed of ſecretly, if the proprietor were involved in the misfortunes of his party. A meaſure recommended by its expediency was generally adopted, and continued prevalent, when no neceſſity required ſuch precaution. When government, under Henry VII. and his ſon, had attained to ſta-

[334] See vol. x. ch. 5. ſect. 1.

bility,

bility, when its vigour repreſſed the depredations of the barons, and precluded the danger of a future revolution, the converſion of arable lands into paſture, increaſed through England to a dangerous extreme. Incloſures were multiplied, demeſne lands were extended, till the farms of the huſbandmen were appropriated to paſture; their houſes were demoliſhed or permitted to decay, while a few herdſmen, fewer than are uſually allotted to paſturage, ſupplanted the yeomen, and occupied, by means of incloſures, the largeſt eſtates [335]. Landlords, it is probable, were ſtill deſirous of retaining the management of thoſe lands, the culture of which they had formerly conducted by their villains or cottagers; and their tenants, accuſtomed hitherto to the moſt moderate rents, were unwilling to ſubmit to an unuſual advance. But the circumſtances moſt detrimental to agriculture may be diſcovered in the reſtrictions attending the exportation of grain, and the conſtant, perhaps the increaſing, conſumption of Engliſh wool. At a former period, the exportation of corn had, in certain circumſtances, been permitted, and its importation regulated by different ſtatutes [336]; but by theſe ſtatutes a diſcretionary control was committed to the king; and there is reaſon to believe that the operations of prerogative were ſeldom favourable, or exerted, unleſs for the purpoſe of partial monopolies and pernicious reſtraints. During

[335] Bacon, p. 44. Hollingſhed's Deſcription of England, p. 205. Strype, vol. i. p. 392. Stowe, p. 512.

[336] See vol. x. ch. 5. ſect. 1. ch. 6.

the preſent period, the manufacture of cloth was encouraged and augmented, by the refinement of Europe in taſte and dreſs; and although the manufactures of England were now conſiderable, thoſe of the Netherlands were ſtill ſupported by large exportations that increaſed the demand, and enhanced the value, of Engliſh wool. A ſyſtem of management, lucrative but pernicious, was thus promoted; lucrative to landholders, but pernicious to the country.

The ſyſtem was ſeverely felt in its conſequences; in the beggary and diminiſhed population of the peaſants. Hamlets were ruined by oppreſſive encroachments; townſhips and villages of an hundred families were reduced to thirty, ſometimes to ten. Some were deſolate, demoliſhed by the avarice of unfeeling proprietors; others were occupied by a ſhepherd and his dog[337]. Theſe repreſentations are tranſmitted by cotemporaries, and perhaps are exaggerated; yet a country appropriated to paſturage is thinly inhabited, and muſt be depopulated, by incloſures multiplied for the purpoſe of rearing ſheep, and retrenching herdſmen. England, at a ſubſequent period, was regarded as better adapted for grazing than tillage; and in the reign of Elizabeth, the lands in culture were computed at a fourth of the kingdom[338]; yet the legiſlature were never inattentive, but interpoſed repeatedly (with what ſucceſs may be juſtly ſuſpected) to enforce cultivation, and repreſs the inordinate increaſe of

[337] Strype, vol. i. p. 392. Latimer's Sermons, p. 12.
[338] Stowe, p. 2. Hollingſhed, p. 108.

paſtures.

paſtures. Early in Henry the Seventh's reign, a ſtatute was enacted for the future ſupport of thoſe houſes of huſbandry, to which twenty acres had been formerly annexed; ſanctioned by the forfeiture of half the rents, till the lands were occupied, and the houſes rebuilt [339]. Severe forfeitures are not eaſily exacted; and it appears that a practice dictated by private gain, was neither ſuppreſſed by the vigilance of law, nor counteracted by the legal extortion of the monarch. A ſtatute enacted under his ſucceſſor, expatiates in the preamble, with apparent truth, on the extent of the miſchief, and feelingly enumerates the complicated miſeries which the increaſe of ſheep, and extenſion of paſtures, had inflicted on the poor [340]. The flocks of individuals, which ſometimes exceeded, and often amounted to twenty thouſand ſheep, were reſtricted to two thouſand; an inadequate remedy, fruſtrated apparently by the partial exception of hereditary opulence. Had the reſtraints impoſed on the exportation of corn been transferred to wool, the internal conſumption would have ſoon regulated the reſpective prices of thoſe articles; the proportion between arable and paſture lands would ſoon have been adjuſted, and the declining cultivation of the country prevented. An improved cultivation was reſerved, however, for a future period, when perſecutions extirpated manufactures from the Netherlands; when the exportation of Engliſh wool had ſubſided, and its price diminiſhed, the farmer

339 Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 19. Bacon, p. 44.
340 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

or landholder, diſappointed of his former exuberant profits, diſcovered the neceſſity of reſuming the plough, and again reſtoring his paſtures to culture.

State of Agriculture.

While huſbandry ſuffered ſuch general diſcountenance, much improvement in its operations is not to be expected. A treatiſe of huſbandry, aſcribed to Fitzherbert, judge of the Common Pleas to Henry VIII. explains thoſe operations chiefly practiſed and moſt approved. The inſtruments were nearly the ſame with ours; and as they have continued, during ſucceſſive generations, with little alteration, are probably not ſuſceptible of much improvement. The operations of huſbandry were conducted apparently with more ſkill than in former periods. Directions are given for draining, clearing, and incloſing a farm; and for enriching and reducing the ſoil to tillage. Lime and marl are ſtrongly recommended, but appear to have ſeldom been employed as manure. Fallowing was practiſed as preparatory to wheat, but not that rotation of crops and fallows which invigorates the ſoil or preſerves its nutrition [341]. When a field was exhauſted by ſucceſſive harveſts the farmer ſuffered it to reſt till recruited, and proceeded to cultivate a freſh field from a part of his paſtures. An improved cultivation is produced by the ſkill and traditional knowledge which farmers accumulate; and the produce of their labour may enable us to eſtimate with ſufficient preciſion their knowledge and ſkill. Sixteen and twenty buſhels are aſſigned by Hollingſhed as

[341] Fitzherbert's Surveyinge & Huſbandrie, 1539, reprinted London 1767.

the

the uſual return of an acre of wheat[342]; a poor return, that argues a ſordid degree of cultivation; yet let us remember that at preſent, in the fertile and beautiful vale of Glouceſter, eighteen buſhels are the common produce obtained from an acre[343]. The prices were various; in years of ſcarcity ſeldom exceeding the preſent rates; but in thoſe of abundance, from a reſtricted exportation, too low perhaps to afford an adequate recompence to the farmer. The greateſt dearth appears to have happened in 1486, when the quarter of wheat ſold at 1l. 4s. (equal to 1l. 17s. of our preſent money); but in ſubſequent years the prices ſubſided ſometimes to 4s. (equal to 6s. of our modern coin). Famine and peſtilence afflicted the country in 1521, and raiſed the quarter to 20s. (about 1l. 11s.); but in 1527, though many periſhed in London from hunger, a large and ſeaſonable importation from Dantzick reſtricted the price to 15s.[344] It is obſervable that the dearths ſo frequent in former times, are generally attributed by our ancient chronicles to the rigour of the ſeaſons; and with ſome truth, for whenever the culture is languid, every unexpected alteration of weather muſt influence the harveſt, and produce an immediate deficiency of grain.

Leaſes, though not uncommon, were hitherto precarious; neither protecting the tenant from the entry of purchaſers, nor ſecuring his intereſt againſt Leaſes.

342 Hollingſhed, p. 110.

343 Marſhal's Rural Oeconomy of Glouceſterſhire, vol. i, p. 129.

344 Stowe, p. 471. 481. 526. 536.

the operation of fictitious recoveries. To reinſtate him when expelled by a new proprietor, an action of ejectment was ſuſtained, about the 14 Hen. VII. in courts of law; but to reſtore him againſt a recovery required and obtained the authority of a ſtatute [345]. Leaſes for three exiſting lives are recommended by Fitzherbert, to enable tenants whoſe ſole ſtock is their perſonal labour, to ſurround their farms, and divide them by hedges into proper incloſures; by which operation, he ſays, "If an acre "of lande be worth ſix pens, or it be incloſed, it "will be worth eight pens when it is incloſed, by "reaſon of the compoſtyng and dongyng of the "catell [346]." But the advantage which he chiefly propoſes to the farmer is more œconomical, the preſervation of his corns without the expence of maintaining herdſmen. England, it is probable, to a ſordid practice introduced into paſturage and adopted in huſbandry, is indebted for thoſe incloſures and minute ſubdiviſions which diſtinguiſh its appearance from other countries, which increaſe its fertility, and beſtow on its plains the interchangeable diverſity of rich culture and luxurious woodlands.

Scotland. Scotland during the preſent period had her hiſtorians; but ſuch hiſtorians as were too much enamoured of great atchievements to record the minute,

345 Blackſtone. vol. iii. p. 199. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 5. The action of ejectment was perhaps of an earlier date; but its benefit was not extended to tenants till this period.

346 Surveyinge, p. 95.

yet

yet inſtructive incidents of their own times. The ſituation of their country, of its arts and commerce, is ſeldom mentioned, or deſcribed ſo ſlightly that it is impoſſible to diſcover, not perhaps to conjecture with preciſion, the ſtate of cultivation to which the country had attained. Its lands had formerly been held in *ward*, a military tenure, in Scotland peculiarly oppreſſive; on the feudal forfeiture, or during the wardſhip of the vaſſal, every ſubordinate grant was ſuſpended; his tenants were removed, his ſub-vaſſals ejected by the lord of the fee. Infeudations for rent had in 1457 been recommended, perhaps ineffectually, by parliament; but a ſtatute enacted in 1503 [347], authorized the king and his vaſſals to make ſuch infeudations for an adequate rent, and exempted the grants from the operation of ward. A partial cultivation was thus promoted; but the peaſant's poſſeſſion was either precarious, or his leaſe, which ſeldom extended to five years, of a duration too ſhort to encourage improvement. His poſſeſſion was precarious, but it was maintained by a general combination againſt intruders; new tenants were removed by murder, and the peaſants, according to a cotemporary, neither incloſed nor planted, nor endeavoured to meliorate the ſterility of the ſoil [348]. A perſuaſion prevails that Scotland formerly was a cultivated country; but the ſtate of agriculture muſt have been poor and languid that required for its encouragement a new tenure, and a perpetuity inſtead of a temporary intereſt. The ſummit of a

[347] Black Acts, p. 42. 57. [348] Major's Hiſt. p. 7.

mountain

mountain may be marked by the plough; but before the vallies were cleared of wood, tillage was neceſſarily confined to hills. Religious houſes might derive a large revenue of wheat from lands productive of none at preſent; but before the eſtabliſhment of regular markets, while the articles of commerce were procured with difficulty, feudal proprietors ſtipulated with their vaſſals for whatever their domeſtic conſumption required. Wheat at a future period was ſupplied from England, for the produce of the country conſiſted chiefly of oats and barley [349].

Gardening. Gardening, during the diſtractions of the civil wars, had been much neglected; but now it was proſecuted with more aſſiduity, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that to the preſent period is aſcribed the introduction of various fruits and vegetables formerly known and produced in England. The fruit garden was enriched indeed by large acceſſions from foreign countries, and apricots, melons, and currants from Zante were introduced, for the firſt time, in the ſixteenth century, about the middle of Henry the Eighth's reign [350]. That ſallads, cabbages, and other vegetables were unknown till then, is a general, but I believe a miſtaken opinion. Sallads are mentioned early in Edward the Fourth's reign; and if we may credit Hollingſhed, cabbages, turnips, and other roots, the produce of the garden, had been known and cultivated, but afterwards neglected.

[349] Fyne Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 155.
[350] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 338. 355. 362.

lected [351]. The introduction of the cherry is alſo aſcribed to the latter part of the preſent period, but we have diſcovered it already in the thirteenth century; nor was it afterwards extirpated or forgotten in England [352].

Gardening, however, was practiſed more for utility than pleaſure, and conſiſted chiefly in the culture of eſculent herbs and fruits. The pleaſure garden was reſerved, I believe, for Elizabeth's reign, when a ſquare parterre was incloſed with walls, ſcooped into fountains, and heaved into terraces. Yet the large and numerous parks of the nobility may be regarded either as contracted foreſts, or extended gardens [353]. Their extent comprehended ſeveral miles, and their number, in Kent and Eſſex alone, amounted to an hundred [354]. Such large incloſures were peculiar to England, and better entitled to the appellation of pleaſure grounds, Parks.

351 Fenn's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 288. Hollingſhed, p. 208.

352 Vide vol. viii. ch. 5. It appears to have been common, from the following rude verſes, printed anno 1496, but compoſed, perhaps, at an earlier period:

"Who, that mannyth hym wyth his kyne,
"And cloſyth his crofte wyth cherry trees;
"Shall have many hegges brokynne,
"And alſo full lytyll good ſervyes."

HERBERT'S Typographical Antiquities, vol. i. p. 129.

353 Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. iv. p. 126.

354 Hollingſhed, p. 204. The earl of Northumberland poſſeſſed in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Yorkſhire, twenty-one parks, containing five thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-one red and fallow deer, from which his table was ſupplied with twenty bucks in ſummer and twenty-nine does in winter. Setting Lent aſide, this was more than a deer a week. Beſides theſe, he had ſeveral parks in Suſſex, and other ſouthern counties. *Northumberland Houſehold Book.*

than

than thoſe gardens of a future period, that exhibited in the vegetable, the mimic appearance of the animal creation.

In Scotland. In Scotland, different laws were enacted for planting groves and encloſing with hedges; a proof that the woods were nearly exhauſted, and that no proviſion had been made to renew them. By the ſame ſtatutes the formation of orchards, gardens, and parks for deer, is impoſed on the landholders, as a neceſſary improvement; but a ſpirit of improvement is excited in a country by cauſes very different from the penalties, or the barren injunctions of ſtatutes [355].

Hops and flax. The culture of hops in the preſent period was either introduced or revived in England; and flax was attempted, but without ſucceſs, though enforced by law [356]. Legiſlature at that time endeavoured to execute, by means of penalties, thoſe national improvements which have ſince been foſtered and cheriſhed by bounties.

Breed of horſes. To the paſſion of the age, and the predilection of the monarch for ſplendid tournaments, may be attributed the attention beſtowed on a breed of horſes, of a ſtrength and ſtature adapted to the weight of the complicated panoply with which the knight and his courſer were both inveſted. Statutes of a ſingular nature were enacted, allotting for deer parks a certain proportion of breeding mares, and enjoining, not the prelates and nobles only, but thoſe whoſe wives wore velvet bonnets, to have ſtallions of a certain ſize for their ſaddle. The

[355] Black Acts, p. 104, 105. 108.
[356] Hollingſhed, p. 110, 111. 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

legal

legal ſtandard was, fifteen hands in horſes, thirteen in mares, and "unlikely tits", were, without diſtinction, conſigned to execution[357]. James the Fourth, with more propriety, imported horſes from foreign countries, to improve the degenerate breed of his own[358]. Artificial graſſes for their winter provender were ſtill unknown; nor were aſſes propagated in England till a ſubſequent period[359].

Architecture.

There is a certain perfection in art to which human genius may aſpire with ſucceſs, but beyond which, it is the apprehenſion of many, that improvement degenerates into falſe taſte and fantaſtic refinement. The rude ſimplicity of Saxon architecture was ſupplanted by the magnificence of the *ornamental* Gothic; but magnificence itſelf is at laſt exhauſted, and it terminated during the preſent period in a ſtile which ſome, with an alluſion to literature, denominate the *florid*. Its characteriſtics are a profuſion of ornaments, minute yet delicate; a finiſhing light and ſlender, from which apparent ſtrength and ſolidity recede; walls ſurmounted by latticed battlements; windows leſs pointed, but broad and open; roofs divided by ſlight ribs into numerous compartments, fretted curiouſly like rich embroidery, interſperſed with ſculpture, and ſpangled with pencil and cluſtering decorations, like thoſe grottoes where the oozing water is petrified before it diſtils from the vault. It is a ſtile

[357] 27 Hen. VIII. vol. vi. 36 Hen. VIII. vol. xiii. Vide Barrington's Obſervations on the Statutes, p. 443.

[358] Pitſcottie, p. 153.

[359] Hollingſhed, i. 210. Polydore Virgil, p. 13.

cenſurable

cenſurable as too ornamental, departing from the grandeur peculiar to the Gothic, without acquiring proportional elegance; yet its intricate and redundant decorations are well calculated to rivet the eye, and amaze, perhaps to bewilder, the mind. In Somerſetſhire, a county devoted to the cauſe of Lancaſter, ſeveral churches were rebuilt in this ſtile by the gratitude or policy of Henry the Seventh; but the ſuperb chapel which he erected in Weſtminſter exhauſted, it is probable, every ornament that taſte could dictate, or piety accumulate. The expence amounted to 14,000l. in quantity upwards of 20,000l. but in efficacy equivalent, perhaps, to 80,000l. of our modern coin; and the fabric exhibits a ſplendid ſpecimen of Gothic architecture, in its lateſt, perhaps moſt degenerate period. Chriſt Church College was built by Wolſey in the ſame ſtile, and with ſimilar taſte; but the genius of Gothic architecture languiſhed after the death of that favourite, and expired with his ſovereign. Grecian architecture was then introduced, but its orders, till a purer taſte was created, were intermixed promiſcuouſly with thoſe of the Gothic, producing a diſcordant and barbarous aſſemblage [360].

Civil. The ſacred, imparted to civil architecture a character ſo ſuited to the profuſe magnificence of Henry the Eighth. His predeceſſors had reſided in caſtles, or in houſes conſtructed with few ornaments and little conveniency [361]; but

[360] Vide Wren's Parentalia. Bentham's Hiſt of Ely. Warton's Obſervations on Spencer. Groſe's Antiquities of England. Pref.

[361] The Old Palace of Weſtminſter, burnt in Henry the Eighth's reign, was a fortified place. Howel's Londonopolis, p. 346.

after

after the invention of cannon, and during a long ſeaſon of profound repoſe, the utility of caſtles had ceaſed; the nobles ſolicited better accommodation, the king and his miniſter ſuperior elegance. Whitehall, Nonſuch, and Hampton Court were erected, the former by Henry, the laſt by Wolſey, in the florid ſtile of the preſent period. Whitehall and Nonſuch have periſhed, but Wolſey's magnificence is ſtill atteſted by Hampton Court; a reſidence, ſays Grotius, befitting rather a god than a king[362]. Ancient buildings, the property of the crown, were either repaired or renewed by Henry; but his taſte and rapacity were both gratified by the diſſolution of the monaſteries, and the converſion of religious ſtructures into royal abodes. Dartford was appropriated to his uſe, and St. James's transformed from a nunnery to a palace[363]. His nobles began to remove the martial fronts of their caſtles, and endeavoured to render them more commodious[364]; but in architecture the nation participated neither the ſpirit nor the taſte of its ſovereign. The manſions of gentlemen were ſtill ſordid; the huts of the peaſantry poor and wretched. The former were generally thatched buildings compoſed of timber, or, where wood was ſcarce, of large poſts in-

[362] Si quis opes neſcit, ſed quis tamen ille,
Hamptonecuita tuos, conſulat ille lares,
Contulerit toto cum ſparſa palatia mundo,
Dicet ibi reges, hic habitare Deos. GROTII Poemata.

[363] Hollingſhed, p. 196. Stowe's Survey. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 563.

[364] Hollingſhed, p. 194.

ſerted

ſerted in the earth, filled up in the interſtices with rubbiſh, plaſtered within, and covered on the outſide with coarſe clay [365]. The latter were ſlight frames, prepared in the foreſts at a ſmall expence, and, when erected, probably covered with mud [366]. In cities, the houſes were conſtructed moſtly of the ſame materials, for bricks were ſtill too coſtly for general uſe; and the ſtories ſeem to have projected forward as they roſe in height, intercepting ſunſhine and air from the ſtreets beneath [367]. The apartments, Eraſmus obſerves, were ſtifling, lighted by lattices, ſo contrived as to prohibit the occaſional and ſalutary admiſſion of external air. The floors were of clay ſtrewed with ruſhes; but in the frequent renewal of theſe (they remained for years a foul receptacle of every pollution) we diſcover nothing of the ſcrupulous cleanlineſs that attends the Engliſh [368]. A more pleaſing picture is exhibited in an ancient ballad, of a ruſtic habitation on the borders of England. The houſe was divided into two apartments, the outer for ſervants; the inner a chamber for the peaſant and his wife [369]; and on this ſimple plan, which is ſtill retained in a part of Scotland, farmers houſes were generally conſtructed. Chimnies were appropriated to larger manſions; but the fire was kindled againſt a *reredoſſe* in the mid-

[365] Hollingſhed, p. 187.

[366] 37 Hen. VII. c. 6. Fenn's Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 141.

[367] Hollingſhed, p. 188. Anderſon. vol. i. p. 337. Strutt's Antiq. vol. ii. p. 46.

[368] Eraſmi Epiſt. 432.

[369] Pinkerton's Ancient Scottiſh Poems, vol. i. p. 65. vol. ii. 398.

dle of the hall, and the ſmoke eſcaped through a perforation in the roof[370].

In military architecture, whatever improvements were produced on the continent, few alterations were adopted in Britain. Ancient caſtles were much diminiſhed, nor was it the policy of the crown to rebuild them. As fortreſſes, they were dangerous yet not ſecure; dangerous to public tranquillity, yet not ſecure againſt regular ſieges. Neither their ſtrength nor conſtruction was calculated, after the invention of artillery, to annoy beſiegers, or reſiſt the continued impreſſion of cannon. Low batteries inſtead of turrets, and inſtead of ſquare or circular, angular ramparts were, after the application of artillery to ſieges, improvements requiſite in military architecture; yet, unleſs ſome platforms of cannon for the protection of the Thames, and a few block-houſes, too inſignificant to acquire a name, no new fortifications were erected in England by either of the Henries[371]. Their vigilance repreſſed or prevented internal diſcord, and the caſtles upheld on the borders were ſufficient to reſiſt the incurſions of the Scots. Military.

In manual operations ſkill and dexterity increaſe inſenſibly; nor is it poſſible, nor is it the ſcope of this hiſtory, to mark, in the progreſs of the arts, the ſilent improvement acquired by the artiſt. We may remark, however, that the increaſing refinement of the period was conducive to the perfection, Metallic arts.

370 Hollingſhed, 188.

371 Polydore Virgil, Hiſt. p. 15. Stowe, p. 576. Hollingſhed, p. 194.

as well as to the increaſe of the metallic arts. The luxury of the table deſcended to citizens, requiring ſo generally the uſe of plate, that there are few, ſays Polydore, whoſe tables are not daily provided with ſpoons, cups, and a ſalt-cellar of ſilver. Thoſe of a higher ſphere affected a greater profuſion of plate [372]; but the quantity accumulated by cardinal Wolſey, though the precious metals are now ſo copious, ſtill continues to excite our ſurpriſe [373]. At Hampton Court, where he feaſted the French ambaſſadors and their ſplendid retinue, two cupboards, extending acroſs the banquet chambers, were piled to the top with plate and illuminated; yet without encroaching on theſe oſtentatious repoſitories, a profuſe ſervice remained for the tables [374]. From the complaints of the people, reiterated even

Anno 1528.

372 Polydore Virgil, p. 13. His teſtimony is explicit. Yet the ſcarcity, or rather total want of plate in the Northumberland family, is a ſingular exception. *Treen*, or wooden plates, were uſed in the family, and pewter veſſels were hired on ſolemn feſtivals. The luxury of London, and the ſouthern countries had certainly not extended to the north, where old families, whoſe journeys to court were only occaſional, and never voluntary, affected to retain the manners of the former age. (See Lodge's Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory, vol. i.) Beſides, the Northumberland family was ſeated too near the borders, and its caſtles were too frequently plundered by the Scots, for any quantity of plate to be accumulated or purchaſed. *Northumberland Houſehold Book*.

373 See Cavendiſh, ch. 17.

374 Stowe, p. 537. Cavendiſh. Two hundred and eighty beds were provided for the gueſts; a goodly company. "Every chamber," ſays Stowe, "had a baſon and an ewer of ſilver, a great livery "pot of ſilver, and ſome gilt; yea, and ſome chambers had two "livery pots with wine and beer; a ſilver candleſtick, having in it "two ſizes, yet the cupboards in the two banqueting chambers were "not once touched."

in

in parliament [375], we may infer that the artificers were often foreigners; yet in one art, the manufacture of pewter, such merit was imputed to English workmen, that they were prohibited by statute from quitting the realm, or imparting their *mystery* to foreign apprentices [376]. Carving, gilding, embroidery, the making of clocks, and probably other ingenious metallic arts, had been practised in monasteries; and their suppression furnished a considerable accession of useful artists [377]. Pins, such as are used at present, were fabricated in the latter end of the present period; yet it is observable that the legislature, whose interference in manufactures is seldom salutary, attempted for a time to suppress this trivial but useful art [378].

In Scotland.

While foreign artificers were discountenanced in England, an opposite policy was attempted in Scotland; and if we may credit historians [379], workmen of every description were collected from different countries by James the Fifth. His endeavours to introduce manufactures, or to improve the rude arts that were practised in Scotland, are represented as partly successful; but they were partly frustrated by his premature death. Mines of gold, discovered during his father's reign, were wrought by Germans under his directions; and from these mines, the first

Mines.

375 14 Hen. VIII. c. 2. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 16. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 13. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 16. 376 33 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

377 Strype, vol. i. p. 372. Fenn's Orig. Let. vol. ii. p. 32.

378 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 6. 37 Hen. VIII. c. 13. Anderson, vol. i. p. 372.

379 Pitscottie, p. 153. Hawthornden, p. 114.

in Scotland, it is ſaid that he extracted conſiderable treaſure [380]. It is poſſible that their produce, while labour was cheap, and before the influx of wealth from America, might have been valuable; but it is more probable that the undertaking ſoon ceaſed to defray the expence. In the ſame region, inſtead of the precious metals, mines of the richeſt lead have been ſince diſcovered; but the gold that was formerly ſought by monarchs is reduced to a few minute fragments, gathered by the ſhepherd from the ſands depoſited by the winter torrents.

Clothing Arts.

The clothing arts, if retarded formerly by the civil diſſenſions, were now promoted by various circumſtances,—the tranquillity of the period, the policy aſcribable to Henry VII. the magnificent court which his ſon ſupported, and the gaiety, taſte, and refinement of the age. There were few inſurrections, and theſe inſufficient to ſubvert the government. Henry VII. was attentive, next to his own, to the national intereſt; and when he laboured, both by treaties and private aſſiſtance, to encourage the ſpirit of commercial adventure, we may preſume that manufactures, the true ſource of commercial intercourſe, were not neglected [381]. It is ſaid, on what account I have not diſcovered, that the woollen manufacture was improved and extended by workmen whom his bounty allured from

[380] Hawthornden, p. 214. Boethius, Deſcript. Reg. Scot. p. 6. The ſpars and cryſtals of the lead-hills are eaſily recognized in the jaſpers, rubies, and adamants, with which the warm imagination of Boethius has impregnated theſe hills.

[381] See in Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 202, an inſtance of the king's attention to the trade of Briſtol, then declining.

Flanders,

Flanders [382], and it is certain that the period of Engliſh proſperity commences after the decline of Bruges, the removal of its commerce, and the diſperſion of its artiſts. The ſplendid diſſipation of his ſon's reign was, if poſſible, more propitious to manufactures, than the father's prudence. His policy was ſeldom judicious; but his example ſerved to diffuſe and to countenance a taſte for magnificence. The nobility and gentry, renouncing their former ruſtic hoſpitality, frequented his court, where their fortunes were diſſipated in a mutual emulation of coſtly equipage and rich attire. Nor was this peculiar to courtiers, or confined to the Engliſh; refinement had already pervaded Europe, and inſtructing every rank to aſpire to a better ſituation and to ſuperior enjoyments, re-acted on commerce from which it originated, and redoubled the produce of thoſe manufactures by which it was gratified.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that in England the dreſs of the wealthy, and in ſome meaſure the homely clothing of the poorer orders, were ſupplied from abroad. Silks, velvets, and *cloth of gold*, an article at that time in high eſtimation, were imported from Italy; coarſe fuſtians from Flanders, of a texture ſo durable that the doublet laſted for two years [383]. The manufactures were judiciouſly confined to woollens, the extent of which is atteſted in different ſtatutes, by the varieties fabricated and the quantities exported. Of a ſlighter texture or

382 Anderſon, vol. i p. 306.
383 Ibid. p. 306. 376. 11 Hen. VII. c. 28.

inferior quality thirteen different cloths are enumerated; but the fabrication of broad-cloth was adjuſted and regulated with an anxious precaution [384]. The repeated proviſions that regard exportation, may convince us that the quantity exported was then conſiderable; but a better proof is diſcovered in the conſtant and otherwiſe unaccountable increaſe of prices. The exportation of cloth was reſtrained by ſtatute, till *ſhorn*, *rowled*, or completely manufactured; but an exception was granted in 1486, for rays, veſſes, and white woollens, whoſe prices exceeded not forty ſhillings. At the diſtance of twenty-ſeven years, cloths of the ſame deſcription and quality acquired an exemption when below five marks, and after an interval of twenty years the exception was again extended to four pounds [385]. It is true, the voice of the legiſlature is not always the organ of truth, but credit is due to its information wherever the times extort a reluctant conceſſion. The manufactures of a nation are commonly eſtimated by its poſitive ſituation at different periods; a juſter meaſure may be obtained from the relative ſituation of other ſtates, its competitors and rivals. At a time when the manufactures of the Netherlands were proſperous, and thoſe of Spain ſtill conſiderable [386], England, indebted to neither for her internal conſumption, appears to have furniſhed from

[384] See Stat. Hen. VII. and VIII. paſſim.

[385] Stat. 3 Hen. VII. c. 11. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 7. 5 Hen. VIII. c. 3. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

[386] Anderſon, vol. i. p. 349.

the

the ſurplus of her manufactures a large exportation. Her ſales were chiefly confined to the Netherlands, then the emporium of exchange through Europe; but her foreign commerce was daily extended; her traders, early in the ſixteenth century, diffuſed her manufactures through the Grecian iſles [387], and diſcovered, in the middle of the ſame century, a new market in the Ruſſian empire. A. D. 1512-18.

Such were the woollen manufactures of England, more extenſive than thoſe of Spain, and rivalled only by thoſe of Flanders. Their proſperity reſulted from natural cauſes, not from ſyſtems concerted by the legiſlature, whoſe regulations are rarely dictated by a judicious policy. Regulations operate as reſtrictions; but the wiſdom of Henry VII. is chiefly conſpicuous in the few reſtrictions impoſed on trade. Under his ſucceſſors the interpoſition of parliament was frequent, often injurious, and ſometimes productive of pernicious monopolies. The preparation of Yorkſhire coverlets was confined to York, an ancient city, depopulated, ſays the ſtatute, by the neighbouring villages [388]; but in Worceſterſhire the woollen manufactures were all reſtricted, for a ſimilar reaſon, to five towns [389]. At a former period the exportation of wool had been prohibited, apparently without effect; but a power devolved on prerogative, of diſpenſing with the ſtatute, operated, it is probable,

[387] Hakluyt's Voyages, part ii. p. 96.

[388] 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

[389] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. The towns were Worceſter, Eveſham, Droitwich, Kidderminſter, and Broomſgrove.

in occaſional monopolies[390]. A patent obtained by the city of York for ſhipping wool, to the excluſion probably of the whole county, required a formal abrogation in parliament[391]. The exportation of wool was immenſe; in one year ſixty cargoes were diſpatched to the Netherlands from Southampton alone[392]. To agriculture the conſequences were ruinous; to manufactures perhaps they were ſalutary. The rude produce exceeded the quantity employed at home; the ſurplus therefore was wiſely exported; and every exportation enabled the kingdom, by increaſing its capital, to enlarge the circle, and increaſe the produce of its own manufactures. But for an early and lucrative exportation of wool, England might ſtill have been poor and wretched, without cultivation, and deſtitute equally of arts and of commerce.

The ſmaller manufactures were ſtill inconſiderable; conſiſting principally of ribands, laces, and ſimilar articles prepared by the ſilk company; and felt hats, a coarſe manufacture eſtabliſhed in London after the acceſſion of Henry VIII.[393] Cottons occur in the ſtatute-book; an appellation beſtowed, I ſuſpect, on a ſpecies of woollen; for linen, even the coarſeſt dowlas, was derived from Flanders[394]. Hemp was introduced, and its culture recommended; not however for the weaver's

390 See vol. viii. ch. 5. 391 21 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

392 Anderſon, vol. i. p. 381.

393 19 Hen. VII. c. 21. Anderſ. p. 332. Stowe, p. 870. Hats, however, are of greater antiquity; they are mentioned in the letters publiſhed by Fenn, and were probably imported by the Flemiſh ſo early as Hen. IV. See Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. p. 83.

394 21 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

benefit,

benefit, but to furniſh materials for cordage and cables [395]. Tapeſtry-weaving was attempted, with what ſucceſs is uncertain [396]. Among the ſmaller manufactures those of Scotland might probably be included; yet Hector Boethius, partial perhaps to his birth-place, celebrates the woollen manufactures of Dundee, and aſſures us that cloths of the whiteſt and moſt delicate texture were fabricated at Dumfries, and exported to England, Flanders, France, and Germany [397]. But whatever was the progreſs of Scotland in arts and commerce, her hiſtorians, regarding the ſubject as ungracious, have maintained a guarded and ambiguous ſilence.

Art of war.

The Engliſh are claſſed by Eraſmus, with ſome truth, among thoſe barbarians that are prone to war [398]. Is it the genius or the peculiar misfortune of the nation, when ſecure at home, to ſearch abroad for military glory, to reject the tranquillity which their inſular ſituation has always proffered, and in the wars of others, to which they ought to have no acceſſion, to ſpend profuſely their ſtrength and treaſures? Henry VII. had no inclination, his imprudent ſucceſſor had no call, to unſheath the ſword. His example is the firſt of an Engliſh monarch interpoſing to regulate the balance of Europe; but his victories were barren, his conqueſts tranſient, and ſucceeding princes who have imitated his example have ſeldom failed to inherit

395 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

396 Dugdale's Warwickſhire, vol. ii. p. 584.

397 Deſcriptio Scot. pp. 3 and 5.

398 Ad Philippum Paneg. Vid. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, vol. ii. p. 171.

his

his fortune. His frequent levies preſerved the national arms and diſcipline, but his foreign expeditions ſerved merely to enure the Engliſh to the recent improvements in the art of war.

Raiſing troops.

Military ſervices had paſſed into deſuetude, or were ſeldom exacted from the feudal tenants, unleſs for the purpoſe of pecuniary extortion. Forces were levied, for the defence of the kingdom by commiſſions of array, for expeditions abroad by indentures for ſoldiers [399]. When an invaſion was apprehended from France or Scotland, commiſſions were iſſued through the different counties, for *muſtering* the inhabitants in arms, ſelecting thoſe that were fitted for ſervice, and *arraying* them according to their rank and weapons [400]. Foreign wars were conducted by troops of mercenaries, raiſed by mutual indenture between the king and his officers. An indenture between the earl of Kent and Henry VII. provides, that the former ſhall furniſh ſix men at arms, including himſelf, each attended by a page and cuſtrel; ſixteen demilances, ſixty archers on foot, and twenty-one mounted on horſeback; at the daily pay of 6d. (equivalent to 2s. 6d. of our preſent money) for each of the archers; 9d. (equal to 4s.) for the demilances; and 1s. 6d. (in its efficacy equal to 7s. 6d.) for the men at arms, their attendants and horſes [401]. Such indentures are numerous, and were certainly lucrative; for the principal nobility, on the ſame terms, contracted to furniſh

[399] See vol. ii ch. 5. ſect. i.
[400] Rymer, vol xiii. p. 300. 374 399.
[401] Rym. vol. xii. p. 477.

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the army with ſoldiers. Their ſervice was temporary, limited commonly to the ſpace of a year; for unleſs the yeomen of the guard, inſtituted by Henry VII., and the gentlemen penſioners by his ſon, (a band of archers and a troop of horſe,) a military eſtabliſhment was unknown in England [402].

Their weapons and armour were, with little variation, ſuch as the aſſize of arms had formerly appointed [403]. Men at arms, whoſe proweſs was moſt conſpicuous, held the higheſt eſtimation; but the ſtrength of the army ſtill conſiſted in archers, now more formidable by the addition of halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their arrows were exhauſted, and with which they reſiſted the impreſſion of cavalry [404]. Sometimes they fought intermixed with the common ſoldiers, who were armed indiſcriminately with bills and ſpears [405]. The troops were diſtinguiſhed by ſcarfs and badges; but the diverſity both of their dreſs and arms, muſt have given their arrangements a motley appearance [406]. Arms.

Two hundred years had elapſed ſince the diſcovery of gunpowder, and its firſt application to the art of war; but fire-arms of a portable conſtruction were a recent invention, that gave no promiſe of ſupplanting the bow. Hand-guns were firſt introduced; a ſpecies of ſmall culverin without a ſtock, faſtened to a tripod, and managed like a ſwivel [407]; Fire-arms,

402 Hall, Hen. VII. p. 3. Groſe's Milit. Antiq.
403 See vol. vi. ch. 5. ſect. 1.
404 Herbert's Hiſt. p. 20.
405 Strutt, vol. iii. p. 9.
406 Groſe's Milit. Antiq.
407 Daniel's Hiſt. de Milice.

but

but the muſket, mounted on a ſtock and diſcharged from the ſhoulder, was employed in 1521, at the ſiege of Parma, and probably ſoon adopted in England [408]. Its form was clumſy, and its weight inconvenient; it was placed on a reſt, and diſcharged by a match-lock; but the different operations requiſite for the management of the reſt and match (for adjuſting the one, and blowing, fixing, and removing the other) perplexed the ſoldier, and rendered his diſcharges ſlow and irregular. Muſkets, to facilitate their management, were then reduced to a diminutive ſize, till a ſtatute prohibited thoſe the length of whoſe ſtock and barrel was leſs than a yard [409]. But the bow was ſtill preferred for its greater diſpatch, and in the hands of an Engliſh archer it poſſeſſed, within a determinate range, a ſteadier aim and a greater execution [410]. The muſketeers were defective in ſkill; their muſkets probably were ill-conſtructed, yet their fire was formidable to the men at arms, whoſe harneſs never reſiſted the ſtroke of a bullet.

Artillery. The improvements produced on artillery are, at this diſtance, neither perceptible, nor of much importance. Braſs and iron ordnance had been procured from the continent, till a foundery for cannon was eſtabliſhed in 1535, by Owen an Engliſhman [411]. Such a foundery had been attempted in Scotland at an earlier period, with ſome ſucceſs, by Borthwick,

[408] Belay. Herbert.
[409] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 6. Vide Groſe's Milit. Antiq.
[410] Life of Lord Herbert, p. 51.
[411] Stowe, p. 571.

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an artiſt in the ſervice of James IV.[412] Mortars and bombs were invented in 1544, by foreigners whom Henry VIII. employed[413].

In Scotland armies were levied by muſters; and to render the inhabitants expert at arms, *weapon-ſhaws*, or reviews, were appointed four times, afterwards twice a-year, in the different counties. The arms to be provided by every rank were adjuſted as in England; ſuits of armour by the nobles, gentlemen, burgeſſes, and others, whoſe rents or whoſe goods amounted to 100l.; jacks of plate and ſteel bonnets by perſons of inferior rank and opulence, with ſwords and ſpears, or inſtead of the latter, with halberts or battle-axes, bows, culverins, or two-handed ſwords[414]. The ſpear (whoſe length was ſeventeen feet) was the national weapon; a formidable weapon when projected by a ſteady and compact battalion. But the Scotiſh troops were deficient in diſcipline; when galled at a diſtance by the Engliſh archers, their impatience often precipitated their ſteps and diſordered their ranks, intercepted the uſe of their unwieldy ſpears, and impelled them promiſcuouſly on the ſword of the enemy. Scotland.

The neceſſary or uſeful arts may be concluded with printing, the utility of which is acknowledged, not merely as ſubſervient to ſcience, but as conducive to the perfection of whatever miniſters to Printing.

[412] Leſly, p. 353. The guns were caſt in Edinburgh caſtle, and ſome of them remained with this inſcription in Leſly's time. Machina ſum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.

[413] Stowe, p. 504. [414] Black Acts, p. 93. 130, 131.

comfort

comfort or elegance. Its introduction by Caxton has been noted [415]; its improvement under his ſucceſſor was ſuch, that the types of Wynken de Worde have ſerved, it is aſſerted, for Saxon characters to the preſent times [416]. The books which he printed are numerous; but Pinſon, Raſtell, and others his competitors, contributed equally to the improvement of printing. The publications of theſe early printers were chiefly of a popular nature, legends, romances, religious diſcourſes; books neceſſarily popular at every period, becauſe they are calculated to agitate the paſſions, or amuſe the untutored taſte of the multitude. Some Latin grammars were alſo printed; but it is obſervable, that after the revival of letters, at a time when the ancients were ſtudied, their languages adopted, and their elegance imitated, Terence, Virgil's Eclogues, and Tully's Offices were the only claſſical productions of the Engliſh preſs [417]. But the printers were either tranſlators or authors; their literature ſeldom extended to Latin; they had few claſſical readers to gratify, and their own vernacular compoſitions coincided happily with the national taſte. The Germans were diverted from improving their language, by their numerous preſſes, conducted by ſcholars and teeming with claſſics; but the books that iſſued from the Engliſh preſs were adapted to thoſe who were neither learned nor untinctured with letters, and promoted, more perhaps than the

415 See vol. x. ch. 5.

416 Herbert's Typographical Antiq. vol. i. p. 118.

417 Id. paſſim.

ſtudy

ſtudy of the ancients, the early refinement of the Engliſh language.

Theſe printers have yet a merit in compiling the materials, and recording the annals of Engliſh ſtory. Grafton, who printed the Bible, completed the Chronicles of Hall and Harding; and of thoſe publiſhed by Hollingſhed and Harriſon, much muſt be aſcribed to the previous collections of Wolfe, a printer, whoſe life was conſumed in hiſtorical reſearches [418]. Their preſſes, however, were confined to black letter, (the Roman character was ſeldom employed,) and were ſtill inferior to thoſe on the continent. The reformers printed abroad, a circumſtance imputable to Henry's imperious ſupremacy; but the Bible which he authorized was attempted firſt at Paris, where workmen, it is ſaid, were dexterous, and paper abundant [419]. A paper-mill had been erected at Hartford, Anno 1507; but its paper probably was much inferior to that of the French [420]. Printing was alſo introduced into Scotland; but miſſals and ſtatutes were the only productions of the Scottiſh preſs.

[418] Vid. p. 502. 596. Hollingſhed's Pref.
[419] Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 515.
[420] Typograph. Ant. vol. i. p. 200.

SECT. II.

History of the fine and pleasing Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, in Britain, from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

Fine arts.

THERE are certain imitative arts that solicit retirement, others that sicken in the shade, and only expand to the sunshine of courts, or the genial influence of popular favour. Poetry has prospered in obscurity, or under discountenance; but sculpture and painting are more dependent on the public regard, and require, particularly in an age emerging from rudeness, more immediate protection and patronage. None was to be obtained or expected from Henry VII. who had neither taste to relish, nor spirit to remunerate distinguished merit. His chapel may be ascribed to a pious solicitude for his future welfare, or regarded as an instance, a solitary instance, of vanity predominating over his avarice: but his tomb originated solely from vanity, and its merit is exclusively due to his successor, by whom it was erected and the expence defrayed.

Sculpture.

The tomb was executed, according to Stowe, by Peter T. a native of Florence [421]; and in this obscure appellation antiquaries have discovered Pietro Torregeano, a sculptor, once the competitor of Michael Angelo. That artist's pre-eminence he had resented by a hasty blow, for which

[421] Stowe, p. 486.

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he was expelled or departed from Florence; and after ſome viciſſitudes of life, was retained as a ſculptor by Henry VIII. and employed in erecting his father's monument [422]. His reward was liberal; 1000l. for the materials and workmanſhip, (equivalent now to 5000l.) but it is eaſier perhaps to trace his hiſtory than pronounce on his merits [423]. The tomb was probably deſigned by another, as its taſte is Gothic, and adapted, particularly in the outward ſhrine, to the ſtyle of the chapel. The minute and florid decorations of architecture, which often ſerve to diſtract the attention, are applied with peculiar advantage to monumental ſhrines, where the whole is comprehended at a ſingle inſpection, and of which the parts are ſuſceptible of an exquiſite poliſh [424]. The ſmall ſtatues that embelliſhed the ſepulchre are partly decayed; thoſe of Henry and his conſort remain; but whatever be their merit, it would be difficult to recogniſe in the ſculpture a competitor worthy of Michael Angelo.

Sculpture ſeems to be a rarer talent, its perfection more unattainable than painting; and in the Painting.

[422] Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. i. p. 96.

[423] Stowe. Walpole. He quitted England to ſettle in Spain, where, in his paſſion, he demoliſhed an image he had carved for the Virgin, for which he was impriſoned by the inquiſition, and, from madneſs or a lofty ſpirit, ſtarved himſelf to death. Sir Antonio More for a ſimilar offence met with a more lenient puniſhment. Philip king of Spain beſtowed a familiar but rough ſlap on the painter's ſhoulders, which the latter returned with his cane; and for this the puniſhment was a temporary baniſhment. In Spain it is ſafer to aſſault the perſon of a living monarch, than to deface the ſtatue of a dead virgin. Walpole, vol. i. p. 123.

[424] See Dart's Antiq. of Weſtminſter Abbey.

patronage of the latter, Henry certainly was more ſucceſsful. Mabuſe, a profligate Flemiſh painter, but of ſome merit, appears to have been employed in his father's court, whither he was probably driven by his own diſtreſſes, rather than allured by the monarch's bounty. The art, however, was little regarded till the ſon's reign, who endeavoured, it is ſaid, to procure from Italy, Raphael and Titian; and under whoſe protection ſeveral Flemiſh and Italian painters frequented England. But their merit is obſcured by that of the celebrated Holbein, who, for the ſoftneſs and richneſs of his colouring, was preferred to the firſt Italian painters, at a time when painting had attained in Italy to its meridian ſplendor. He was firſt eſtabliſhed in Baſil, afterwards (1526) recommended by Eraſmus to ſir Thomas More, and paſſed the ſubſequent part of his life, with more ſecurity than his unfortunate patron, in the ſervice of Henry VIII. and his ſon. His pencil, among its other employments, portrayed the beauties of Henry's wives, or of thoſe whom Henry intended to wed; and to procure a juſt report of the latter, he was twice diſpatched to the continent as the ſecret emiſſary of Henry's love. But he was not always a faithful emiſſary; his pencil, if impartial to the ducheſs or Milan, imparted unmerited charms to Anne of Cleves, and enſnared his maſter into a diſtaſteful marriage; for which, while the painter eſcaped unpuniſhed, Cromwell the miniſter loſt his head. Princes in their marriages are now to be pitied; they muſt ſee and chooſe from a flattering portrait, and wed by proxy

proxy without inclination; but the diſaſters that Henry taſted in marriage provoke deriſion: Henry, who exalted his female ſubjects to his throne and bed, and when ſated with their charms, like an Eaſtern tyrant, diſmiſſed them to the ſcaffold. Holbein lived in England without a competitor, and died (1554) without a ſucceſſor to eclipſe his memory. His works, of which many are loſt or diſperſed abroad, are juſtly celebrated as dear to connoiſſeurs for the perfection of their colouring, dear to antiquaries for their age and ſcarcity [425].

Engraving.

To painting may be added a ſubordinate art, that copies and ſerves to diffuſe its deſigns. Engraving was coëval in England with printing; a rude engraving, employed as a ſubſtitute for illuminating, to decorate the titles and initials of books. Some copper-plates were produced at the end of this period [426]; but theſe are only memorable as the firſt ſpecimens in England of an art that aſpires to imitate, though unable to emulate, the perfection of painting. Poetry and painting will ſtill retain this material difference, that the works of the latter cannot be multiplied like thoſe of the former, not at leaſt in their original luſtre; but the diſadvantage is in ſome meaſure recompenſed by this, that the productions of poetry are more local, confined to a diſtrict, a nation, a language; while thoſe of painting, expreſſive only of natural ap-

[425] Such is the eulogy pronounced by Mr. Walpole; himſelf a rare inſtance of taſte united to a love of antiquities. *Anec. Paint.* vol. i. p. 94.

[426] Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, p. 5.

pearances, are intelligible in every region, to every nation.

Poetry. The age of Henry VII. and his predeceſſor Richard, is characteriſed by the hiſtorian of Engliſh poetry as fertile in verſifiers, but productive only of one that merits the name of poet [427]; yet in this exception there is reaſon to ſuſpect that the hiſtorian's judgment was bribed, or his taſte perverted, by a love of antiquity. Stephen Hawes, a groom of the chamber to Henry VII. compoſed, among other poems of obſcure merit, the Temple of Glaſs, and the Paſtime of Pleaſure; but the one is a tranſcript from Chaucer, the other a prolix and tedious allegory; the conception of which required little invention, and of which the imagery is apparently of little value [428]. His verſification, however, improves upon Lydgate's, and is far ſuperior to Barclay's or Skelton's, contemporaries curious for the manners of the period, but as poets beneath attention. The truth is, that with every advantage derived from learning, with a language that approached, though it had not attained to its preſent ſtate, Engliſh poetry, till refined by Surry, degenerated into metrical chronicles or taſteleſs allegories.

In Scotland. It was different in Scotland, where poetry, ſuch as Chaucer might acknowledge and Spencer imitate, was cultivated in a language ſuperior to Chaucer's. Dunbar and Douglas were diſtin-

[427] Warton's Hiſt. Poet. vol. ii. p. 165. 210.

[428] Ibid. Warton has diſſected the poem, but has given no favourable ſpecimens of its particular merits.

guiſhed

guiſhed poets, whoſe genius would have reflected luſtre on a happier period, and whoſe works, though partly obſcured by age, are peruſed with pleaſure, even in a dialect conſigned to ruſtics. Dunbar, an eccleſiaſtic, at leaſt an expectant of church preferment, ſeems to have languiſhed at the court of James IV. whoſe marriage with Margaret of England he has celebrated in the Thiſtle and the Roſe; an happy allegory, by which the vulgar topics of an epithalamium are judiciouſly avoided, and exhortation and eulogy delicately inſinuated. The verſification of the poem is harmonious, the ſtanza artificial and pleaſing, the language copious and ſelected, the narrative diverſified, riſing often to dramatic energy. The poem from its ſubject is deſcriptive, but Dunbar improves the moſt luxuriant deſcription by an intermixture of imagery, ſentiment, and moral obſervation. The following is a ſpecimen:

The purpour ſone, with tendir bemys reid,
In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
Throw goldin ſkyis putting up his heid,
Quhois gilt treſſis ſchone ſo wondir cleir,
That all the world tuke comfort, fer and neir,
To luke upone his freſche and blisfull face,
Doing all fable fro the heavenis chace.

And as the blisfull ſonne of cherarchy
The fowlis ſung throw comfort of the licht;
The burdis did with open voicis cry,
O luvaris ſo, away thow dully nicht,
And welcum day that comfortis every wicht;
Hail *May*, hail *Flora*, hail *Aurora* ſchene,
Hail princes Nature, hail Venus, Luvis quene.

The Golden Terge is another allegorical poem of Dunbar's, conſtructed in a ſtanza ſimilar to Spencer's, but more artificial, and far more difficult [429]. In deſcription perhaps it excels, in ſentiment it ſcarcely equals the Thiſtle and Roſe. Its narrative is not interchanged with dialogue; its allegory refers to the paſſions, the dominion of beauty, the ſubjection of reaſon, and is leſs fortunate than the Thiſtle and Roſe, whoſe occult and ſecondary ſignification is an hiſtorical truth that ſubſiſts apart, and however embelliſhed, cannot be obſcured by the oſtenſible emblem. When the paſſions or the mental powers are perſonified and involved in action, we purſue the tale, forgetful of the thin abſtraction, to which it is relative; but to remedy this, the Golden Terge has a merit in its brevity which few allegorical poems poſſeſs. The allegorical genius of our ancient poetry diſcovers often a ſublime invention; but it has intercepted what is now more valuable, the repreſentation of genuine character, and of the manners peculiar to ancient life. Theſe manners Dunbar has ſometimes delineated with humour, in poems lately retrieved from oblivion [430]; and from them he appears in the new light of a ſkilful ſatiriſt and an attentive obſerver of human nature.

Gavin Douglas, his contemporary, was more conſpicuous by the rare union of birth and learning, and is ſtill diſtinguiſhed as the firſt poetical

[429] Like Spencer's it conſiſts of nine verſes, reſtricting however to two rhimes inſtead of three, which Spencer's admits of.

[430] Vide his Poems in Pinkerton's Collection.

tranſlator

tranſlator of the claſſics in Britain. Early in youth he tranſlated Ovid *de Remedio Amoris* (a work that has periſhed); at a maturer age, Virgil's Eneid into Scottiſh heroics; a tranſlation popular till ſuperceded, at the cloſe of the laſt century, by others more elegant, not more faithful, nor perhaps more ſpirited[431]. His original poems are King Hart and the Palace of Honour, allegories too much protracted, though marked throughout with a vivid invention; but his moſt valuable performances are prologues to the books of his Eneid ſtored occaſionally with exquiſite deſcription. As a poet, he is inferior to Dunbar, neither ſo tender nor ſo various in his powers. His taſte and judgment are leſs correct, and his verſes leſs poliſhed. The one deſcribes by ſelecting, the other by accumulating images; but with ſuch ſucceſs, that his prologues deſcriptive of the winter ſolſtice, of a morning and evening in ſummer, tranſport the mind to the ſeaſons they delineate, teach it to ſympathiſe with the poet's, and to watch with him the minuteſt changes that nature exhibits. Theſe are the earlieſt poems profeſſedly deſcriptive; but in deſcription Scottiſh poets are rich beyond belief. Their language ſwells with the ſubject, depicting nature with the brighteſt and happieſt ſelection of colours. The language of modern poetry is more intelligible, not ſo luxuriant, nor the terms ſo harmonious. Deſcription is ſtill the characteriſtic, and has ever been

[431] It was finiſhed in ſixteen months; and till Dryden's appeared, ſeems to have been received as a ſtandard tranſlation: till then it was certainly the beſt tranſlation.

the principal excellence of Scottiſh poets; on whom, though groſsly ignorant of human nature, the poetical mantle of Dunbar and Douglas has ſucceſſively deſcended [432].

In England. Poetry revived in England under Henry VIII. and was cultivated by his courtiers as a vehicle of gallantry; but by none more than the brave but unfortunate Surry, who had taſte to reliſh the Italian poets, and judgment to reject their affected, though ſplendid conceits. His ſonnets were once celebrated, but are now neglected; unjuſtly neglected, for their merit is conſiderable, and their influence imparted a new character to Engliſh poetry. Surry was inſpired by a genuine paſſion, and his ſonnets breathe the unaffected dictates of nature and love. Tenderneſs predominates in the ſentiment, eaſe and elegance diſtinguiſh the language. From theſe ſonnets, the earlieſt ſpecimens of a poliſhed diction and refined ſenſibility, ſucceeding poets diſcovered the capacity and ſecret powers of the Engliſh tongue. They are not numerous, though ſufficient to effect a reformation in poetry, nor diſcriminated always from the ſonnets of others; but of thoſe whoſe authenticity is certain, the complaint uttered in confinement at Windſor, touches irreſiſtibly the heart with woe. Blank verſe, now peculiar to Engliſh poetry, had been recently attempted in Italian and Spaniſh, and was firſt tranſplanted by Surry into ſome tranſla-

[432] Other poets of inferior reputation flouriſhed during this period in Scotland; but it is the purport of this hiſtory to record the progreſſive improvements, not the ſtationary merit of poetry.

tions

tions from Virgil, which diſcover rather the concinnity of rhyme than the ſwelling progreſſion of blank verſe. As a ſpecimen of his poetry, our limits only admit of a ſonnet, ſelected for the variety, choice, and compreſſion of its images.

The ſoote ſeaſon that bud, and bloome fourth bringes,
With grene hath cladde the hyll, and eke the vale,
The nightingall with fethers new ſhe ſinges;
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale:
Somer is come, for every ſpray now ſpringes,
The hart hath hunge hys olde head on the pale,
The bucke in brake his winter coate he flinges;
The fiſhes flete with newe repayred ſcale:
The adder all her ſlough away ſhe ſlynges,
The ſwift ſwallow purſueth the flyes ſmalle,
The buſy bee her honey now ſhe mynges;
Winter is worne that was the flowers bale.
And thus I ſee among theſe pleaſant thynges.
Eche care decayes, and yet my ſorrow ſprynges.

In the refinement of poetry, the elder Wyat is ſuppoſed to have co-operated with Surry, as both ſtudied in the Italian ſchool[433]; but he follows at a ſubmiſſive diſtance, with an unpliant genius and untunable numbers. His verſes are amatory and ſatirical, or rather didactic; but in the firſt, as his paſſion was fictitious, its utterance is harſh. With the taſte he adopted the affectation of the Italians, and in his ſonnets labours perpetually at ſome hopeleſs conceit. Yet his numbers burſt ſometimes into melody, and his ſatires exhibit, with much obſcu-

[433] Warton's Hiſt. of Poet. vol. iii. p. 28.

rity,

rity, an occaſional ſtrength and propriety of thought and diction.

Dramatic Poetry.

Dramatic poetry was attempted after the revival of letters, or rather myſteries of the church were coverted in the univerſities into regular dramas. Plays on hiſtorical or religious ſubjects, were compoſed in Latin for the ſtudents to perform; and the authors probably ſucceeded better in their obſervance of the rules, than in their imitation of the divine ſpirit of the Grecian ſtage. Theſe ſpectacles could never be popular; but occaſional *interludes* were written in Engliſh [434], and performed by ſtudents in the inns of court, or by itinerant minſtrels in the halls of the nobility. The poetry is worthleſs, memorable only as the firſt productions of the Engliſh drama [435]. Philotus, a comedy in the Scottiſh language, is aſcribed to the cloſe of this period, and ſome interludes were written by Lindſay of the Mount, a Scottiſh poet, whoſe laurels are faded [436].

Church Muſic.

The imitative arts, as their primary object is the gratification either of ſenſe or paſſion, are not neceſſarily allied to religion, to which occaſionally they have been rendered ſubſervient; and accordingly ſome are rejected by the orthodox, others retained as inſtrumental to devotion. Painting and ſculpture are proſcribed as idolatrous, poetry and

434 Vide one in the Harleian Miſcell. vol. i. p. 98.

435 Warton, vol. ii. p. 366.

436 Pinkerton's Ancient Scot. Poems, Pref. 110. Lindſay's remains are in the Banatyne Manuſcript. I have not found that they are of much value.

muſic cheriſhed as ſacred; nor did the reformation produce in England an immediate alteration on the muſic of the church. Counterpoint, the invention of a former period, was improved, in the preſent, particularly by the introduction of diſcords, to provoke attention, or relieve from ſatiety. The plain chants of the church were ſelected by compoſers, as a baſis for florid counterpoint and figurative harmony, recent improvements, conſtructed on the continent with all the artificial perplexity of fugue and canon. Such artifices as the laſt were diſregarded, or ſeldom adopted by Engliſh compoſers, whoſe maſſes and other choral productions are characterized as grave in their ſtyle, and according to the rules at that time eſtabliſhed, correct in their harmony, free from imitations, and marked with an originality apparently national. Compared with the recent perfection of muſic, they are deficient however in meaſure and melody, deſign and contrivance; but perhaps it is the misfortune of muſic, that its refinement terminates in a faſtidious delicacy, unwilling to be pleaſed, and in its deſire of novelty rejecting whatever has already delighted [437]. The productions of theſe early maſters have preſerved their names; and now that flattery is ſilent, Taverner, Shepherd, and Parſons, have obtained, in the annals of muſic, the precedence of their Sovereign. Henry VIII. from the ſkill of a performer, aſpired to the merit of an original compoſer; his inſtruments were the recorder, the flute,

437 Burney's Hiſt. of Muſic, vol. ii. pp. 461. 466. 507. 555.

the

the virginials; and his genius ſometimes condeſcended to furniſh his courts with ballads, and his chapel with maſſes [438]. His name is forgotten among poets, but his muſic ſeems to have ſurvived his reign; yet of two productions, a motet and an anthem, aſcribed to his finger, the one from its mediocrity is admitted to be genuine, the other is ſuppoſed to exceed the capacity of a royal muſician [439].

Secular muſic.

It is difficult to ſpeak with preciſion of ſecular muſic, of which the written ſpecimens are few, and the traditionary antiquity vague and uncertain. Popular melodies were originally ſimple, acquired with eaſe, and tranſmitted without the aſſiſtance of notation, till adopted by compoſers, diſfigured by a multiplicity of new variations, and ſo perplexed by a redundancy of notes, that their difficulty conſtituted their only merit. Such was the employment of ſecular compoſers, who, inſtead of attempting invention in air or melody, produced, it is ſaid, from ſimple ſongs, an elaborate aſſemblage, to the execution of which the ſkill and dexterity of modern performers are confeſſedly unequal [440]. The melodies peculiar to Scotland eſcaped ſuch torture, and ſome of them, from their ſtyle or the ſubject of their verſes, are aſcribed by conjecture to the preſent period [441]. New ſongs are adapted daily to former tunes, and whatever be the antiquity of Scottiſh

[438] Herbert's Hiſt. p. 2. 13. Hollingſhed, vol. ii. p. 806.
[439] Burney, vol. iii. p. 1. Hawkins's Hiſt. Muſ. vol. ii.
[440] Burney, vol. ii. p. 553.
[441] Arnot's Hiſtory of Edinburgh, App. 8.

muſic,

muſic, (ancient it is, and perhaps the produce of different periods,) the poetry is recent; but conjectures are not admiſſible as a ſubſtitute for hiſtorical certainty.

The improvement of ſecular muſic was perhaps retarded by the imperfect conſtruction of muſical inſtruments. The organ, I believe, was appropriated to the church; the clavicord, virginals, and harp, to the chamber. Wind inſtruments are deſcribed as of various conſtructions; but it is obſervable of inſtruments played with keys, or blown by reeds, that the intonation is defective, not ſuſceptible of nice modulation [442]. The viol was in much requeſt; but its finger board was fretted, its intonation limited; and it is aſſerted that, before the adoption of the violin, perfection in harmony was unknown to mankind [443]. Muſical inſtruments.

442 Figures of theſe inſtruments are to be found in Hawkins's Hiſt. vol. ii.

443 Burney, vol. ii. p. 553.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER VI.

The Hiſtory of Commerce, Corn, and Shipping in Great Britain, from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Acceſſion of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

THE acceſſion of Henry VII. to the throne of England was an event favourable to the commerce of that kingdom in ſeveral ways. It put an end to a long and ruinous civil war, which had thrown every thing into confuſion, and inflamed the minds of one half of the people with the moſt violent hatred againſt the other; a ſituation in which commerce could not flouriſh [1]. It placed

Acceſſion of Henry favourable to trade.

[1] See vol. x. ch. 6.

on

on the throne a prince in the prime of life, of a ſound and good underſtanding, improved by the obſervations he had made in foreign countries, and fully convinced of the great importance of commerce, both to the crown and to the people, by increaſing the revenues of the one and the riches of the other. Accordingly we find, that Henry was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he began to turn his thoughts to trade, to remove the obſtructions by which it had been interrupted, and to procure the Engliſh merchants and mariners a free courſe to and favourable reception in all parts of the world. With this view he cultivated peace with all his neighbours, and concluded commercial treaties with almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe. Nothing can give our readers a more diſtinct idea of the trade of England in this reign, than by laying before them the ſubſtance of thoſe commercial treaties in as few words as poſſible.

Commercial treaty with France.

The trade between England and France had been interrupted in the late reign, and Henry made ſo much haſte to terminate all diſputes with that kingdom by a truce, in which freedom of trade and commercial intercourſe were ſtipulated, that it was proclaimed in the beginning of October A. D. 1485, even before his coronation [2]. This truce, which was only for one year, was prolonged for three years more, January 17th, A. D. 1486, with additional ſecurities for the freedom of trade [3].

[2] Rym. tom. xii. p. 277. [3] Ibid. p. 281.

About

About the ſame time Henry diſpatched his almoner into Italy, with a very extenſive commiſſion, to negociate commercial treaties with the king of Naples, and with all the other princes and ſtates of that country. In that commiſſion, he diſcovers that he had very juſt and liberal ſentiments of trade, as beneficial to all nations, by procuring them what they wanted in exchange for what they could ſpare. "The earth (ſays he) being the common mother "of all mankind, what can be more pleaſant and "more humane than to communicate a portion of "all her productions to all her children by com-"merce[4]?" We have no particular account of the ſucceſs of this commiſſion, but it could not be unſucceſsful. The maritime ſtates of Italy could have no reaſon to decline a commercial intercourſe with England. With Italy.

This prudent prince loſt no time to accommodate all differences with his neareſt neighbours the Scots, and to lay open the trade between the two Britiſh kingdoms, for their mutual benefit. He concluded a truce for three years from July 1ſt, A. D. 1486, with James III.; the chief object of which was, beſides the ceſſation of all hoſtilities by ſea and land, to procure the free admiſſion and friendly treatment of the merchants and mariners of the one country in the other[5]. He had it alſo much at heart to eſtabliſh a more cordial peace between the two nations, by ſeveral intermarriages between the two royal families. But in that he Scotland.

[4] Rym. tom. xii. p. 283. [5] Ibid. p. 285.

was unhappily diſappointed, by the untimely death of king James.

Florence. Henry granted, June 8th, A. D. 1486, a free conduct to Michael de Seprello, Mark Stroze, and all other merchants of Florence, for ten years, to come into his dominions with their ſhips, to diſpoſe of their goods as they pleaſed, to purchaſe and export wool, woollen cloths, tin, lead, and other merchandize, without danger or moleſtation, upon paying the uſual cuſtoms [6]. Such a ſafe-conduct was not unneceſſary, as the Italian and other foreign merchants had been often inſulted and plundered in the ports of England.

Brittany. Henry, in the ſame firſt year of his reign, concluded a commercial treaty with Francis duke of Brittany, (who had been his protector in his diſtreſs,) to continue in force during their joint lives, and no longer. In this treaty many ſtipulations are made that diſcover a thorough knowledge of trade, and an anxious concern to render it mutually beneficial to the ſubjects of the contracting parties [7].

With Burgundy. A ſimilar treaty was made about the ſame time with Maximilian king of the Romans, as guardian to his infant ſon Philip duke of Burgundy and Brabant and earl of Flanders. The object and ſtipulations in this were the ſame with thoſe in all other commercial treaties, and a very great trade was carried on between England and the Low Countries [8].

[6] Rym. tom. xii. p. 300. [7] Ibid. p. 303. [8] Ibid. p. 320.

The Italian and other foreign merchants paid double cuſtom in England on goods they imported and exported, which was no ſmall diſcouragement to trade. Though Henry certainly loved money too well, and was not very apt to exact leſs than his right, he wiſely conſidered, that by lowering the cuſtoms payable by foreign merchants, he would encourage a greater number of them to frequent his ports, and thereby rather increaſe than diminiſh his revenues. He made the experiment, and granted, February 18th, A. D. 1488, to the merchants of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and of all other Italian cities, for three years, a conſiderable abatement of the cuſtoms on ſome articles of export[9]. We are not particularly informed of the ſucceſs of this experiment; but we know that the commercial intercourſe between England and Italy was at this time very great, and that the Italian merchants took off great quantities of Engliſh cloth, lead, tin, &c. for which they returned velvets, ſilks, gold lace, with the ſpices and other precious commodities of the eaſt[10]. Reduction of cuſtoms.

Henry concluded two commercial treaties with John king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, A. D. 1490, by which he procured ſeveral privileges to his ſubjects who traded to theſe countries, and particularly to the Engliſh fiſhers on the coaſts of Iceland and Norway[11]. In a word, this active, intelligent prince had the intereſt of commerce ſo With Denmark, &c.

9 Rym. tom. xii. p. 335.

10 Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, vol. i. p. 304.

11 Rym. tom. xii. p. 374. 381.

much at heart, that in the four firſt years of his reign he renewed old, or formed new commercial treaties with almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe, and thereby procured his trading ſubjects a favourable reception and friendly treatment in all places, which revived the trade of England from that languor and decline into which it had fallen by the confuſions of the late times.

Commercial laws.

This was not the only method by which Henry VII. contributed to revive and increaſe the trade of England. He procured ſeveral laws to be made to promote the ſame patriotic purpoſe. The greateſt part of the foreign trade of England had hitherto been carried on by foreigners in foreign bottoms. Henry was ſenſible that this prevented the increaſe of Engliſh ſhips and Engliſh ſailors; and to remedy this in part, he procured a law to be made in his firſt parliament, that no Gaſcony or Guienne wines (to which the Engliſh had been long accuſtomed, and of which he knew they were very fond) ſhould be imported into any part of his dominions, except in Engliſh, Iriſh, or Welſh ſhips, navigated by Engliſh, Iriſh, or Welſh men, which obliged them to build ſhips and go to ſea, or to want their favourite liquor [12]. This law was enforced and enlarged by an act made in the third parliament of Henry VII. A. D. 1487, to which the following preamble was prefixed: "That where "great miniſhing and decay hath been now of late "time of the navy of this realm of England, and

[12] Stat. 1 Hen. VII. c. 8.

"idleneſs

" idleneſs of the mariners within the ſame, by the " which this noble realm, within ſhort proceſs of " time, without reformation be had therein, ſhall " not be of ability, nor of ſtrength and power to " defend itſelf." To prevent this, it was enacted, that no wines of Gaſcony and Guienne, or woads of Tholouſe, ſhould be imported into England, except in ſhips belonging to the king, or ſome of his ſubjects; and that all ſuch wines and woads imported in foreign bottoms ſhould be forfeited [13]. From this act we may obſerve, that Henry VII. ſo early as A. D. 1487, had ſhips of his own, which he either employed in trade, or freighted to his merchants; a practice which he purſued during his whole reign, by which he gained much money, while he increaſed the ſhipping, ſailors, and trade of his dominions.

Diſcoveries.

A few years before the acceſſion of Henry VII. a ſpirit of maritime enterprize and adventure, for the diſcovery of new and unknown countries, had ſprung up in ſome parts of Europe, which ſoon produced very great and ſurpriſing effects. The Portugueſe in particular, animated and directed by their intelligent ſovereign John II. attempted to diſcover a paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies, to obtain a ſhare in the trade of thoſe countries, which had enriched the Venetians and other Italian ſtates. In this attempt they ſailed along and explored all the weſt coaſts of Africa as far as the Cape of Good Hope, which they reached A. D. 1487; but there

[13] 4 Hen. VII. c. 10.

they ſtopped ſhort, and proceeded no further in their diſcoveries for ſeveral years.

Chriſtopher Columbus.

In the mean time, an extraordinary man had reaſoned himſelf into a perſuaſion that there was a great continent and many iſlands beyond the Atlantic Ocean, and had formed the bold deſign of attempting the diſcovery of that New World. This was the juſtly celebrated Chriſtopher Columbus, one of the moſt adventurous, intelligent, and ſagacious ſailors that ever lived, to whom mankind are indebted for bringing one-half of the world acquainted with the other. Though Columbus was fully convinced himſelf, he knew it would not be eaſy to convince others of the exiſtence of ſuch a country, and that he could not attempt the diſcovery of it without the aid of ſome powerful prince or ſtate. Being a Genoeſe by birth, he made his firſt application to the republic of Genoa, A. D. 1482; but that ſtate declined embarking in the enterprize. He next applied to John II. king of Portugal, whom he knew to be intent on making diſcoveries. King John received him favourably, and ſeemed inclined to engage in the undertaking; but referred him to a committee of his council, with whom he was to ſettle all preliminaries. With this committee he had many meetings; they made many objections, and aſked many queſtions, to which he returned anſwers with unſuſpecting frankneſs. When they had obtained, as they imagined, all the information he was capable of giving, they privately fitted out a ſhip to make the diſcovery. Columbus, juſtly irritated at this ungenerous attempt

tempt to deprive him of the honour and profit of his project, which had coſt him ſo much thought, expence, and toil, left the court of Portugal in diſguſt, A. D. 1484 [14].

Not yet diſcouraged, he next repaired to the court of Spain, and ſent his brother Bartholomew into England, to ſolicit the means of attempting the propoſed diſcovery, A. D. 1485. Bartholomew was unfortunately taken by pirates on his paſſage, who ſtripped him of every thing, and chained him to the oar. At length he made his eſcape, and arrived in England A. D. 1489, almoſt naked, and emaciated by his ſufferings. In this ſituation, without credentials, without money, and without friends, he could not procure acceſs to the king or his miniſters; but endeavoured to ſupport himſelf by making maps and ſea charts. When he had recovered his health, and could make a decent appearance, he preſented a map of the world to the king, which procured him an audience of that prince, and an opportunity of explaining the commiſſion he had received from his brother. Henry heard him with attention, examined all circumſtances, and thinking his ſucceſs probable, he agreed to his propoſals, and ſent him back with an invitation to his brother to come to England; but before Bartholomew arrived in Spain, his brother Chriſtopher had ſailed on his ſecond voyage to the iſlands he had diſcovered in the firſt [15]. Thus it was by the misfortunes of Bartholomew Columbus, and not by the avarice of Henry VII. that the

Sends his brother to England.

[14] Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 557—658. [15] Ibid.

Engliſh loſt the honour of being the firſt diſcoverers of the New World: but it may be juſtly doubted whether this was any real loſs to them, or their poſterity. Spain doth not ſeem to have gained either honour, power, population, or proſperity of any kind, but rather to have been a loſer in all theſe reſpects by the diſcovery.

Diſcovery of Newfoundland, &c.

But though Henry and his ſubjects were thus deprived of the honour of being the firſt diſcoverers of the New World, they were determined to have a ſhare in the diſcovery. John Cabot, a Venetian, had reſided ſeveral years in Briſtol as a merchant and mariner, in which laſt capacity he had acquired great knowledge by many voyages. Having heard of the fame and ſucceſs of Columbus, he preſented propoſals to Henry VII. for attempting ſimilar diſcoveries. His propoſals were readily accepted, and the king granted letters patent, March 5th, A. D. 1496, to him and his three ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanctius, to ſail with five ſhips under Engliſh colours for the diſcovery of unknown countries, which had never been viſited by any Chriſtians, and granting to them and their heirs all the countries they diſcovered to be held of the crown of England, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs a fifth part of the nett profits[16]. Beſides this, he fitted out a gallant ſhip for this expedition at his own expence, and ſome merchants of London and Briſtol provided four ſmaller veſſels. With this little fleet John Cabot ſailed from Briſtol in ſpring, A. D. 1497, and directing his courſe to the

[16] Rym. tom. xii. p. 595.

north-

north-weſt, on June 24th he diſcovered the iſland of Newfoundland, and ſoon after the iſland of St. John. He then ſailed down to Cape Florida, and returned to Briſtol with a good cargo and three natives of the countries he had diſcovered on board. He was graciouſly received, and knighted by Henry on his return [17]. From this well-atteſted account it appears, that the Engliſh were the firſt diſcoverers of the continent of America; and therefore, according to the political caſuiſtry of thoſe times, had a better title than any other European nation to the poſſeſſion of that quarter of the globe [18]. That title, however, at the beſt, is very queſtionable.

Though Henry VII. was thus diſpoſed to encourage and aſſiſt his ſubjects in making foreign diſcoveries, he was not the leſs attentive to the concerns of commerce nearer home. A miſunderſtanding having ariſen between him and Philip duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders, A. D. 1493, all the Flemings were baniſhed from England and all the Engliſh from Flanders, and a total ſtop was put to the trade between theſe two countries. This was equally diſagreeable and diſtreſsful to the people of both countries, who had long carried on a great trade with one another, to their mutual advantage. This pernicious interruption of trade was not of long duration. A very correct and comprehenſive commercial treaty, between

Commercial treaty.

[17] Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 4, &c. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 461, &c.

[18] See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 336. 3d edit.

Henry

Henry and Philip archduke of Auſtria and ſovereign of the Netherlands, was ſigned at London February 24th, A. D. 1496, in which every precaution was uſed to render the intercourſe between the ſubjects of the two princes ſecure, permanent, and profitable to all concerned [19]. It was called *intercurſus magnus*, (the great commercial treaty,) and gave no little joy to the merchants and manufacturers of both countries. When the Engliſh returned to Antwerp, (to which they had removed their factory from Bruges a few years before), they were conducted into that city in triumph, and were received with every poſſible demonſtration of joy.

Act of parliament.

On this occaſion a violent conteſt broke out between the merchants reſiding in the capital, who had been long incorporated under different names, and now called themſelves The Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, and the merchants, who reſided in other cities and towns, who called themſelves The Merchant Adventurers of England. The London Company had been long accuſtomed to impoſe a kind of tax or compoſition on the Engliſh merchants reſiding in other places, for liberty to buy and ſell in the great fairs of Flanders, Brabant, and other countries on the continent. This tax was at firſt only half an old noble (3s. 4d.), and was demanded by the London merchants, who then called themſelves The Fraternity of St. Thomas Becket, on a religious pretence, to enable them to do honour to their favourite ſaint, and thereby gain his protection. But by degrees this impoſition

[19] Rym. tom. xii. p. 578.

was

was raiſed ſo much, that it now amounted to twenty pounds, to the great diſcouragement of trade. The merchant adventurers therefore, who reſided in the out-ports, applied to parliament for a redreſs of this grievance, and an act was made A. D. 1496, reducing that fine to ten merks ſterling [20].

Commercial treaty.

Henry VII. ſtill continued to encourage the trade of his ſubjects by new commercial treaties with foreign ſtates, and even with particular towns. He concluded ſuch a treaty with the magiſtrates of Riga in Livonia A. D. 1498, in which it was ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhould pay no tolls or cuſtoms in the port of Riga, and that the merchants of Riga ſhould pay the ſame tolls and cuſtoms in the ports of England with other merchant ſtrangers [21]. They alſo engaged to remit a debt of 10,637 gold nobles due to them by England. The ſtipulations in this treaty were very unequal, and ſo were the contracting parties.

Henry VII. attentive to trade.

It would be tedious to mention all the commercial treaties of Henry VII. It will therefore be ſufficient to remark, that, in his negotiations and treaties with foreign princes and ſtates, he never forgot the concerns of commerce, or neglected to procure ſome advantage to his mercantile ſubjects. He was particularly complaiſant to the citizens and merchants of London, to whom he communicated the earlieſt intelligence of all important events and tranſactions; and by the punctual payment of his debts his credit in the city was unbounded. He even lent conſiderable ſums of

[20] Stat. 12 Hen. VII. c. 6. [21] Rym. tom. xii. p. 701.

money

money to merchants, to enable them to extend their trade, and ſometimes he became a partner in their adventures, and received his proportion of the profits[22].

Weights and meaſures.

Henry VII. was no leſs attentive to the internal than to the external or foreign trade of his dominions, and procured ſeveral wiſe laws to be made, for regulating their commercial intercourſe with one another. Of theſe it will be ſufficient to mention only one, whoſe ſalutary effects were extenſive and of long duration. The great diverſity of weights and meaſures in different parts of England was very perplexing and inconvenient, and ſeveral laws had been made to reduce them to uniformity; but inveterate cuſtom had hitherto proved too ſtrong for all theſe laws. An act was made therefore in the fourth parliament of Henry VII. A. D. 1494, which promiſed to be more effectual, becauſe greater care was taken to ſecure its immediate execution. It was enacted, "That unto the knights "and citizens of every ſhire and city, aſſembled "in this preſent parliament, barons of the cinque "ports, and certain burgeſſes of burgh towns, "before they depart from this preſent parliament, "be delivered one of every weight and meaſure, "which now our ſovereign lord hath cauſed to be "made of braſs, for the commonwealth of all his "ſubjects and lieges within this his realm of Eng-"land, according to the king our ſovereign lord's "ſtandard of his exchequer of weights and mea-"ſures." Theſe knights, citizens, and burgeſſes,

[22] Campbell, vol. i. p. 330.

are

are directed to deliver theſe braſs weights and meaſures to the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns which they repreſented, according to a ſchedule annexed to the act, containing their names, in number forty-three. The inhabitants of all theſe cities and towns, and the diſtricts around them, are commanded to provide themſelves before the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt with weights and meaſures, exactly agreeable to thoſe braſs ſtandards, and ſealed with the letter H. crowned, and from thenceforward to uſe no other weights or meaſures. The mayors and bailiffs in the ſeveral cities and towns are required to call in all the weights and meaſures of the people within the juriſdictions twice a year, to examine them by the ſtandards, to break and burn ſuch as were found defective, and to fine their proprietors, for the firſt offence, 6s. 8d.; for the ſecond, 13s. 4d.; and for the third, 20 ſhillings and the puniſhment of the pillory[23]. Though the king and parliament had been at great pains and no little expence in making this law and providing for its execution, it was ſoon after found that a miſtake had been committed, and that the weights and meaſures which had been ſent to the ſeveral cities and towns were not exactly agreeable to the ſtandards in the exchequer. This miſtake was rectified by an act made by the next parliament 1496. By that act the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns to which weights and meaſures had been ſent, were commanded to return them to the exchequer, there to be broken in pieces,

[23] 11 Hen. VII. c. 4

and

and new ones more correct to be ſent in their room. While theſe laws were ſtrictly executed they were not ineffectual. But as the ſtrict execution of them was attended with no little trouble, and various inconveniencies to the magiſtrates of towns and cities, it was gradually relaxed, and the former irregularities in weights and meaſures gradually returned.

Colonies. Though ſir John Cabot had diſcovered the iſles of Newfoundland and St. John and the coaſt of North America, and had taken poſſeſſion of them in the name of the king of England ſo early as A. D. 1497, no attempt was made to eſtabliſh colonies in any of theſe countries. But Henry VII. ſoon after began to entertain thoughts of forming colonies in the New World, or at leaſt to encourage his ſubjects to form them. This appears from a commiſſion which he granted A. D. 1501 to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Aſhurſt merchants in Briſtol, John Gunſalus and Francis Fernandus natives of Portugal, "To ſail with as many ſhips "and mariners as they thought proper, with Eng-"liſh colours, into the parts and countries of the "eaſtern, weſtern, ſouthern, and northern ſeas, to "diſcover, recover, and inveſtigate any iſlands, "coaſts, and countries of heathen and infidel "parts of the world, and to ſet up the king's "banners and enſigns in whatever town, caſtle, "iſland, or continent they ſhould diſcover, and to "hold the ſame for our uſe as our lieutenants. "2. Whenever any diſcovery ſhall be made, it is "our will that men and women from England be "freely

" freely permitted to ſettle therein, and to im-
" prove the ſame, under the protection of theſe
" grantees [24]." From hence it appears, that it was the intention of theſe adventurers to eſtabliſh a colony in the country they hoped to diſcover, and that the king approved of their deſign. What diſcoveries they made we are not informed, but it is certain they did not plant a colony; and it will afterwards appear that no permanent colony was eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh in any part of the New World for a whole century after the date of this grant.

Henry VII. was too fond of money not to be a friend to trade, which added to his own revenues as well as to the riches of his ſubjects; and there is ſufficient evidence that the commerce and wealth of England increaſed conſiderably under his government. A cotemporary hiſtorian thus concludes his character of Henry VII. " Surely this
" good prince did not devour and conſume the
" ſubſtance and riches of his realm; for, by his
" high policy, he marvellouſly enriched his realm
" and himſelf, and yet left his ſubjects in high
" wealth and proſperity. The proof whereof is
" manifeſtly apparent, by the great abundance of
" gold and ſilver yearly brought into this realm,
" both in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants
" paſſing and repaſſing out and into this realm with
" merchandiſe, to whom he himſelf of his own
" goods lent money largely, without any gain or
" profit, to the intent that merchandiſe, being of

Henry's treaſures.

[24] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 37.

" all

" all crafts the chief arte, to all men both moſt " profitable and neceſſary, might be the more " plentifuller uſed, haunted, and employed in his " realms and dominions[25]." Henry was poſſeſſed of thoſe qualities which contribute moſt effectually to render their poſſeſſors rich. He was well acquainted with all the arts and pretences of ſqueezing money from his ſubjects, and exacted whatever he pretended to be his right with unrelenting rigour; at the ſame time he was an anxious wakeful œconomiſt, and kept moſt exact accounts of all his expences, even the moſt trifling[26]. But with all his arts of getting and ſaving money, he could not have accumulated ſo great a maſs of treaſure as he left in his coffers at his death, if his ſubjects, particularly his mercantile ſubjects, had not been opulent for thoſe times. The accounts we have of the amount of theſe treaſures are very different. Lord chief juſtice Coke affirms, that they amounted to the enormous ſum of five millions three hundred thouſand pounds[27]. Sir Robert Cotton ſtates them at four millions and a half, beſides wrought plate, jewels, and rich furniture[28]. Theſe accounts, though ſeemingly well atteſted, are hardly credible. One would rather be inclined to think that there was not ſo much money in the kingdom in thoſe times, before any of the precious metals from the New World had reached England. The account given by Lord Bacon (which hath been

[25] Hall, Hen. VII. f. 61. [26] See Append. No. iii. No. iv.
[27] 4 Inſtitut. ch. 35.
[28] Anſwer to the Reaſons for Foreign Wars, p. 53.

already

already mentioned) is more moderate, and probably nearer the truth.

Trade of Scotland.

James IV. king of Scots, the contemporary and ſon-in-law of Henry VII. was an intelligent and active prince, and ſtudied to promote the proſperity of his ſubjects by promoting trade. With this view many laws were made in his reign, all of them well intended; but as trade was then very imperfectly underſtood, few of them were either wiſe or uſeful, and too many of them impracticable or pernicious. Among the uſeful laws may be reckoned thoſe for the uniformity of weights and meaſures, if they could have been carried into execution [29]; but though theſe laws were often renewed, they were never effectual. The importance of the fiſheries was well underſtood. This appears from the preambles to thoſe acts, obliging all cities, towns, prelates, and barons, to fit out buſſes for the fiſheries, of twenty tons and upwards, with a certain length of lines and nets, and a certain number of hands [30]; nor were theſe acts ineffectual, as the Scots fiſheries were at this time flouriſhing and lucrative.

Commercial laws.

Wherever there is trade, and impoſts on goods exported and imported, there will be ſmuggling, or attempts to avoid the payment of theſe impoſts, unleſs the riſk of loſs can be made greater and more certain than the proſpect of gain, by making ſuch attempts. To prevent ſmuggling, and to ſecure the payment of the king's cuſtoms, was the object of ſeveral ſtatutes in this period. Theſe

[29] Black Acts, James IV. Act 131. [30] Ibid. Act 81.

ſtatutes were very ſimple, and probably not very effectual. By an act of the firſt parliament of James IV. A. D. 1488, "It was ſtatute and ordainit, that in time to come, all manner of ſhips, ſtrangers, and others, come to the king's free burrows, ſic as Dumbarton, Irvine, Wigtoun, Kircudbright, Renfrew, and other free burrows of the realm, to pay their dues and cuſtoms, and take their cocket as effiers[31]." The ports particularly mentioned in this act are now, and were then, very inconſiderable in compariſon of many others which are not mentioned. But their inhabitants were zealous partizans of that predominant party which had lately ſlain their ſovereign, and this firſt parliament of James IV. was compoſed wholly of the heads of that party. To ſuch a degree will faction ſometimes influence public deliberations.

So imperfectly was commerce underſtood at this time in both the Britiſh kingdoms, that they imagined they could bring the balance of trade in their own favour, and add daily to their ſtock of gold and ſilver, merely by making laws to compel all merchants, foreigners as well as natives, to import a certain quantity of coin or bullion, in every ſhip, in proportion to the value of the other goods; to lay out all that coin and bullion, together with all the money they received for their goods, in purchaſing the commodities of the country; and not to export any gold or ſilver in coin or bullion, under the ſevereſt penalties. Such

[31] Black Acts, James IV. Act 11.

laws

laws were made both in England and Scotland in this period [32]; but they ſerved only to betray the ignorance of thoſe who made them, and could not be executed. When the value of the imports into any country exceeds the value of the exports, the balance muſt be paid in the precious metals, in ſpite of a thouſand laws to the contrary. By another law, equally abſurd and hurtful to trade, no ſhips were ſuffered to ſail from any port in Scotland from the firſt of November to the firſt of February. Sailing in the three winter months was eſteemed too dangerous to be permitted [33].

Staple.

The ſtaple of the trade of Scotland was ſeveral times changed. It had been anciently fixed at Campvere in Zealand, whoſe earl married a daughter of James I. From thence it was ſettled at Bruges in Flanders, which in the fifteenth century became the center of trade to almoſt all the nations of Europe. It was removed from thence by act of parliament to Middleburgh in Zealand, where it did not continue, but was reſtored to its ancient ſtation at Campvere. The ſenate and magiſtrates of Middleburgh never deſiſted from importuning James IV. and after his death the duke of Albany, to have the ſtaple returned to their town; and having gained the ſecretary Mr. Panter, by a promiſe of three hundred gold crowns, they entertained great hopes of ſucceſs [34]: but in this they were diſappointed. Secretary Panter acquainted them, that when the affair was debated in council he

32 James IV. Act 30. 33 Ibid.
34 Epiſt. R. R. S. tom. i. p. 276.

was ill of a fever; and that the people of Campvere had made ſuch intereſt, to prevent ſo precious a morſel, which had ſo much enriched their town, being torn from them, that he imagined they would prevail[35]. He was not miſtaken. When the city of Antwerp was in its greateſt glory, the emporium of almoſt all the nations of Europe, the ſenate and magiſtrates applied to James V. A. D. 1539, to fix the ſtaple in their city, promiſing peculiar privileges and immunities to his ſubjects. The people of Campvere, alarmed at this application of ſuch formidable rivals, exerted all their influence to retain what they had long enjoyed, and of which they knew the value. To determine this queſtion king James ſummoned a convention of merchants from all the trading towns of the kingdom; and finding the members of this convention almoſt equally divided in their opinions, he granted every one liberty to do what he thought moſt for his advantage[36]. On this permiſſion ſome of the merchants carried their ſtaple commodities to Antwerp; but as they did not meet with the favour and encouragement they expected, they gradually returned to Campvere. All this competition between ſo many towns ſeems to indicate that the trade of Scotland in this period was not inconſiderable.

Conſervator.

Wherever the ſtaple was fixed, an officer called the Conſervator of the Scots Privileges, was ſtationed, with authority to protect the privileges that had been granted to the Scots merchants, and to

[35] Epiſt. R. R. S. tom. i. p. 284. [36] Ibid. tom. ii. p. 55.

determine

determine all diſputes that aroſe among thoſe merchants, with the aſſiſtance of four of them as his aſſeſſors. By act of parliament A. D. 1503, the merchants are prohibited from proſecuting one another before any other judges than the conſervator and his aſſeſſors [37]. By another act of the ſame parliament, the conſervator is commanded to come to Scotland once every year, or to ſend a procurator ſufficiently inſtructed to give an account of his tranſactions, and to anſwer to any complaints that have been made againſt him [38].

Acceſſion of Henry VIII. favourable to trade.

The acceſſion of Henry VIII. to the throne of England was no diſadvantage to trade, though he did not underſtand it ſo well nor attend to it ſo much as his father had done. He was young, oſtentatious, and fond of pleaſure; poſſeſſed of a prodigious maſs of treaſure, and unboundedly expenſive in his houſehold, dreſs, tournaments, diſguiſings, and diverſions of all kinds. He was too well imitated in this ſplendid expenſive way of living by thoſe of the nobility and men of fortune, who frequented the court, and aſpired to the notice and favour of the youthful monarch. This occaſioned an uncommon demand for many coſtly commodities, as clothes of gold and ſilver, velvets, ſilks, embroideries, jewels, plate, wines, ſpices, &c. and that demand was ſupplied by trade. This trade was for ſome time chiefly carried on by the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Florence, to whom the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given of ſafety and

[37] Black Acts, James IV. c. 116. [38] Ibid. c. 117.

friendly treatment in the ports of England[39]. By degrees, however, theſe foreigners became ſo unpopular, that it was hardly in the power of government to protect them; and this trade came gradually into the hands of the Engliſh merchants. We may form ſome idea of the great importation of cloth of gold, cloth of ſilver, vandekin, velvet, damaſk, ſattin, ſarcenet, farſton, camblet, and other cloths of ſilk, and of ſilk and gold and ſilver, in the beginning of this reign, from an act of parliament A. D. 1513, in which it is ſaid, "that "three or four thouſand pieces of theſe cloths "were commonly imported in one ſhip[40]." This trade was more profitable to the merchants than to their country.

Circle of trade enlarged.

That ſpirit of mercantile adventure which had ſprung up in the preceding reign ſtill continued and increaſed, and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged. The trade of the Engliſh in the Mediterranean was become ſo conſiderable, that it was found neceſſary to eſtabliſh a conſul in the iſland of Chios in the Archipelago A. D. 1513[41]. Though no Engliſh colonies were as yet ſettled in any part of the new world, it appears that the merchants carried on a trade with theſe countries, and even with the iſlands in the Weſt Indies, which had been ſeized and ſettled by the Spaniards; and that they had agents reſiding in ſome of theſe iſlands, particularly in the great iſland of Cuba, for the management of their trade[42]. Many voyages

[39] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 271.
[40] 4 Hen. VIII. c. 6.
[41] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 353.
[42] Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 500.

were undertaken in this reign for the diſcovery of unknown countries, in order to enlarge the circle of trade; but the accounts we have of theſe voyages are very ſhort and imperfect. It appears that Henry VIII. fitted out a fleet, for making diſcoveries in the South Sea, A. D. 1516, and gave the command of it to Sir Thomas Pert vice-admiral of England, and the famous Sebaſtian Cabot; but all we know farther of this expedition is, that it was unſucceſsful, owing to the cowardice of Sir Thomas Pert[43]. Mr. Thorne of Briſtol was one of the greateſt merchants and boldeſt adventurers in England in this reign. He had not only factors reſiding in Cuba, but he ſent agents in the Spaniſh fleets, furniſhed with great ſums of money, to bring him exact deſcriptions and charts of the ſeas, rivers, and lands, viſited by theſe fleets[44]. Mr. Thorne, by his letters, earneſtly intreated Henry VIII. not to be diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his firſt attempts to make diſcoveries, but to perſevere and to direct his reſearches towards the north, for which his dominions were moſt conveniently ſituated. He gave the king alſo ſome very prudent advices for conducting his future voyages of diſcovery[45]; but what regard was paid to the entreaties and advices we are not informed. Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, father of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, made three very ſucceſsful voyages in a ſhip of his own to the coaſt of Brazil, and in his paſſage he traded

43 Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 498. 44 Ibid. p. 726.
45 Ibid. vol. ii. p. 498, 499.

with the Negroes of Guinea. Mr. Hawkins, by his good behaviour, became ſo great a favourite of the Brazilians, that one of their kings came voluntarily with him into England, and being preſented to Henry VIII. at Whitehall, excited great admiration by the ſtrangeneſs of his dreſs and appearance[46]. Mr. Hore of London, who was an accompliſhed gentleman as well as an adventurous merchant, was not ſo fortunate as Mr. Hawkins. Having prevailed upon thirty young gentlemen to accompany him in a voyage of diſcovery, they ſailed from Graveſend in April A. D. 1536, with two ſhips, the Trinity and Minion, and about one hundred and twenty men. After a tedious voyage of about two months they diſcovered the iſland of Cape Breton, and ſome time after the iſland ſince called Newfoundland. They ſailed along the coaſts of that iſland, endeavouring, but in vain, to gain ſome communication with the natives, till their proviſions began to fail, and they were by degrees reduced to ſuch extreme diſtreſs, that they came to a reſolution to determine, by caſting lots, which of them ſhould be firſt ſacrificed to the preſervation of their companions. In that awful moment a French ſhip approached, which the periſhing Engliſh immediately aſſaulted and ſeized, and, to their inexpreſſible joy, found her almoſt loaded with proviſions. They removed a ſufficient quantity of the proviſions into their ſhips, and ſet ſail for England. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall in October the ſame year; but ſo emaciated, that

[46] Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 700.

their

their neareſt relations could hardly recognize them [47]. Other evidence, if it were neceſſary, might be produced, to prove that the Engliſh in this reign enlarged the circle of their trade, by viſiting ſeveral countries with which they had formerly been unacquainted.

Henry VIII. endeavoured to encourage commerce by various other methods. He made commercial treaties with almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe; in which, and in his other treaties, he took care to ſecure certain privileges to his mercantile ſubjects [48]. In his reign, and moſt probably by his influence, ſeveral acts of parliament were made for removing all obſtructions to navigation out of the great rivers, and for deepening ſmaller ones, to make them navigable [49]. He repaired the harbours of Scarborough, Southampton, and ſeveral other towns; and on the port of Dover alone he expended between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand pounds. He built a great many ſtrong forts at the mouths of rivers, and the moſt expoſed parts of coaſts, for the ſecurity of ſhipping and of the country. Great pains were taken in this reign to clear the ſurrounding ſeas of pirates; and the king on ſome occaſions diſcovered the greateſt anxiety for the ſafety of his merchants' ſhips [50]. For the improvement of navigation, the famous maritime guild or fraternity called the Trinity-houſe of Deptford, was inſtituted A. D. 1512; and ſimilar fraternities were ſoon after eſta-

Hen. VIII. encouraged trade

47 Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 129. 48 Rym. tom. xiii. paſſim.
49 Stat. temp. Hen. VIII. 50 Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 27–33.

bliſhed

bliſhed at Hull and Newcaſtle upon Tyne, for the inſtruction and examination of pilots, erecting of beacons, light-houſes, and buoys, and for various purpoſes, to prevent ſhipwrecks[51]. But it is the peculiar glory of Henry VIII. that he may be ſtiled the founder of the royal navy of England, by appointing a board of commiſſioners of the navy, and by erecting ſtorehouſes for all manner of naval ſtores, and making yards and docks at Woolwich and Deptford for building and equipping ſhips of war. From theſe and other facts that might have been mentioned, it plainly appears, that Henry VIII. paid no little attention to trade, and that his endeavours to promote and encourage it were not altogether in vain.

But though the intention of Henry and his miniſters were favourable to commerce, their knowledge of it was ſo imperfect, that not a few of their laws and regulations were rather hurtful than beneficial. Of this it would be eaſy to give many examples, but a few will be ſufficient. What could be more unreaſonable in itſelf, or more obſtructive to the freedom of commerce, than that law, which was ſo frequently renewed and ſo ſtrongly enforced, againſt the exportation of gold or ſilver in coin or bullion, and commanding all native merchants to import a certain quantity of theſe precious metals in every ſhip; and obliging foreign merchants to inveſt all the money they received for the goods they imported in the com-

[51] Anderſon's Hiſt. Com. vol. i. 342.

modities

modities of the country[52]? Several corporations obtained monopolies by acts of parliament, which muſt have been hurtful both to trade and manufactures; and they obtained them on very ſtrange ſuggeſtions. The bailiffs and burgeſſes of Bridport in Dorſetſhire preſented a petition to parliament A. D. 1529, repreſenting that the people of their town had been in uſe, time out of mind, to make the moſt part of the great cables, halſers, ropes, and other tackling for the royal navy, and for the moſt part of all other ſhips within the realm, by which their town was right well maintained. But that of late years certain evil-diſpoſed perſons in the neighbourhood had begun to make cables, halſers, and ropes, by which their town of Bridport was in danger of being ruined, and the prices of cables, halſers, and ropes, were greatly enhanced. The firſt of theſe allegations might be true; but the ſecond was certainly a moſt impudent and glaring falſehood. The increaſe of manufacturers could not raiſe the price of the goods manufactured. It muſt have had a contrary effect, which was undoubtedly the real grievance of the good people of Bridport. On this falſe and abſurd ſuggeſtion, an act was made that all the hemp that grew within five miles of Bridport ſhould be ſold only in that town, and that no perſon within five miles of Bridport ſhould make any cables, halſers, ropes, hilters, &c. on pain of forfeiting all the goods they made[53]; an act no leſs imprudent than it was unjuſt. One other example will be ſufficient to

[52] Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 23. [53] Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

convince

convince us, that very pernicious laws were made in this period, (and perhaps not in this period only,) on very abſurd pretences. The city of Worceſter, the towns of Eveſham, Droitwich, Kidderminſter, and Bromeſgrove, repreſented to parliament A. D. 1533, that the ſaid city and towns were well inhabited, and their inhabitants well maintained, by making woollen cloths of various kinds; but that of late years, divers perſons dwelling in the hamlets, towns, and villages of the ſhire of Worceſter, for their own lucre, had begun to exerciſe cloth-making of all kinds, to the great decay, depopulation, and ruin of the ſaid city and towns. Upon this repreſentation, an act was made, that no perſon of any degree in Worceſterſhire ſhould make any cloth to be ſold, except ſuch perſons as reſided in the city of Worceſter, or in the towns of Eveſham, Droitwich, Kidderminſter, or Bromeſgrove [54]. That ſuch reſtrictive laws were unfriendly and hurtful both to trade and manufactures is obvious, though it was certainly not the intention of the legiſlators to hurt them. Good intentions are not ſufficient to make good legiſlators. Prudence and caution to prevent being deceived by intereſted perſons; patient laborious inveſtigation, and a thorough knowledge of the ſubject on which the laws are to be made, are no leſs neceſſary than good intentions. But notwithſtanding theſe and ſeveral other obſtructions to trade which might have been mentioned, there is ſufficient evidence that the commerce of England

[54] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18.

was

was conſiderably extended and increaſed in the reign of Henry VIII.

If commerce was but imperfectly underſtood in England in this period, it was ſtill more imperfectly underſtood in Scotland. Several laws relating to trade were made in the reign of James V. but they were all reſtrictive, and tended rather to curb than to encourage a ſpirit for mercantile adventures. None but the inhabitants and freemen of royal boroughs were permitted to engage in trade; and even they were not permitted to engage in it unleſs they had a certain ſtock in money or goods [55]. While Henry VIII. encouraged his ſubjects to undertake long and dangerous voyages for the diſcovery of unknown countries, James V. made laws to prohibit his ſubjects from putting to ſea in the three winter months [56]. Trade could not flouriſh under ſuch reſtrictions.

As money and ſhips are two great inſtruments of commerce, without which it cannot be carried on, it is neceſſary to give a brief account of the ſtate of them in every period of this work.

Though a pound is one of the moſt common denominations of money, it never was a real coin, either in gold or ſilver, in any age or country. Such large and ponderous coins would have been in many reſpects inconvenient. But for many ages, both in Britain and in other countries, that number of ſmaller coins which was denominated a pound in computation, or a pound in tale, really contained a pound of ſilver; and they might have been and frequently

Pound in weight and pound in tale the ſame.

Began to differ.

[55] Black Acts, James V. ch. 27. [56] Ibid. ch. 37. 31. 80.

were

were weighed, as well as numbered, to aſcertain their value. If the number of coins that were denominated a pound in tale did not actually make a pound in weight, an additional number of coins were thrown into the ſcale to make up the weight. This was a fair and honeſt practice; the departure from which occaſioned many difficulties, miſtakes, and impoſitions in money tranſactions, both in foreign and domeſtic trade.

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, Edward I. having exhauſted his treaſures by his long and expenſive wars with Scotland, coined a greater number of pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, out of a pound of ſilver than formerly; which gave riſe to the diſtinction between the pound in weight and the pound in tale. The difference at firſt was very ſmall, and hardly perceptible; but it gradually increaſed in every ſucceeding reign; and at the acceſſion of Henry VII. the nominal pound, or the pound in tale, was little more than half a real pound in weight, and contained only as much ſilver as thirty-one ſhillings of our money at preſent [57].

Shillings. Groats, weighing each forty-three grains, had been hitherto the largeſt ſilver coins: but Henry VII. A. D 1504, coined ſhillings, then commonly called feſtoons, each weighing 144 grains, equal to three groats, and to twelve pennies. They were fair and beautiful coins, for thoſe times; but they are now become ſo exceedingly rare, that it is imagined that no great numbers of them were coined [58].

[57] See vol. iv. p. 278, &c. vol. vi. p. 294, &c. vol. viii. p. 345, &c. vol. x. p. 263, &c.

[58] Folkes on Coins, p. 19. edit. 1763.

Henry

Henry VII. made ſeveral alterations in the form and devices of the coins of England. Inſtead of the full face that appeared on the coins of former kings, and which bore little or no reſemblance to the prince intended to be repreſented, his face appears in profile, and bears a great reſemblance to his real countenance. Still further to diſtinguiſh his coins from thoſe of preceding or ſubſequent kings of the ſame name, the number VII. was added immediately after the name; this practice hath been followed by all his ſucceſſors. He laid aſide the open crown of former kings, and appears upon his coins with an arched imperial crown, ſurmounted by the globe and croſs. To prevent clipping, he cauſed a circle to be made at the very edge of his coins. The ſilver coins of Henry VII. were ſhillings or feſtoons, groats, half-groats, pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, of the ſame weight and value with thoſe of his two predeceſſors, Edward IV. and Richard III. [59] Silver coins.

Henry VII. coined a great deal of gold as well as of ſilver; but his gold coins in general bore the ſame names, and were of the ſame weight and value with thoſe of his two predeceſſors, which have been already deſcribed [60]. He was however the firſt king of England who coined thoſe large and beautiful pieces of gold called ſovereigns, value forty-two ſhillings of thoſe times, and half-ſovereigns, value twenty one ſhillings; he coined alſo quadruple ſovereigns, weighing each an ounce of gold; but theſe laſt were undoubtedly deſigned for medals, Gold coins.

[59] M. Leake, p. 179. See vol. x. p. 263, 264. [60] Id. ibid.

and

and not for current coins[61]. The gold coins of Henry VII., as they are enumerated in an act of parliament A. D. 1503, were ſovereigns and half-ſovereigns, ryals, half-ryals, and quarter-ryals, nobles and half-nobles[62]. All the coins of Henry VII. both of gold and ſilver, were of ſtandard purity. He poſſeſſed too much money, and loved it too well, to ſink its value by too great a number of baſer metals.

Henry VIII.

Henry VIII. coined a great deal of money in his long reign. In the former part of it, his coins were of the ſame kinds and of the ſame weight and fineneſs with thoſe of his predeceſſors, which have been deſcribed. But towards the end of his reign, after he had ſquandered all his father's treaſures, the grants he had received from parliament, and the great ſums he had derived from the diſſolution of the religious houſes, he began to diminiſh his coins both in weight and fineneſs. This diminution at firſt was ſmall, in hopes perhaps that it would not be perceived; but after he had got into this fatal career, he proceeded by rapid ſteps to the moſt pernicious lengths. In the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, ſilver money of all the different kinds was coined, which had only one half ſilver and the other half alloy. He did not even ſtop here; in the laſt year of his reign he coined money that had only four ounces of ſilver and eight ounces of alloy in the pound weight; and the nominal pound of this baſe money was worth only nine ſhillings and threepence three farthings of our preſent money[63]. He

[61] Leake, p. 182. [62] 18 Henry VII. c. 5. [63] M. Folkes, p. 27.

began

began to debaſe his gold coins at the ſame time, and proceeded by the ſame degrees. But it would be tedious to follow him in every ſtep. In this degraded and debaſed condition Henry VIII. left the money of his kingdom to his ſon and ſucceſſor Edward VI. This ſhameful debaſement of the money of his kingdom was one of the moſt imprudent, diſhonourable, and pernicious meaſures of his reign; it was productive of innumerable inconveniencies and great perplexity in buſineſs of all kinds, and the reſtoration of it to its ſtandard purity was found to be a work of great difficulty.

Intereſt of money.

It had long been a great obſtruction to trade and to improvements of every kind, that lending money upon intereſt was declared by the church to be uſury, and highly criminal in Chriſtians. This prevented laws being made for regulating the rate of intereſt; and the money-lenders (many of whom were Jews) took advantage of the neceſſity of the borrowers, and exacted moſt exorbitant intereſt. They had invented alſo ſeveral curious devices to elude the penalties of the laws againſt uſury. Of theſe evils many complaints had been made; and by an act of parliament A. D. 1545, the intereſt of money was fixed at ten per cent.; and if any perſon took more, he was to forfeit three times the ſum lent, the one half to the king, and the other to the informer. In the ſame act, the various tricks and devices that had been practiſed by the money-lenders, to eſcape the penalties of the laws againſt uſury, are enumerated and prohibited [64].

[64] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

Scotland. The coins of Scotland were originally the ſame with thoſe of England, in weight, purity, and value; and continued to be ſo till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when they began to fall a little below them. This difference in the coins of the two Britiſh kingdoms gradually increaſed; and not long after the beginning of our preſent period, the nominal pound of Scotland was only equal to one-third of the nominal pound of England. This appears with the cleareſt evidence, from the contract of marriage between king James IV. and the princeſs Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. A. D. 1502. In one article of that contract it is ſtipulated, that the princeſs ſhould be infeoffed in lands of the yearly value of 2000l. Engliſh, or 6000 Scots. By another article, king James is bound to pay to his queen 1000l. Scots, or 500 marks Engliſh, yearly, to be diſpoſed of as ſhe pleaſed [65]. As the nominal Engliſh pound at that time was equal to thirty-one of our preſent ſhillings, the Scots pound, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, was equal to ten ſhillings and four-pence ſterling. But towards the end of this period A. D. 1544, the nominal pound of Scotland had ſunk to one-fourth of the nominal pound of England. This appears from a contract of marriage between Matthew earl of Lennox, and the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the queen-dowager of Scotland by her ſecond huſband the earl of Angus, and niece to Henry VIII. By one article in that contract, king Henry engaged to ſettle an eſtate in England on the earl of

[65] Rym. tom. xii. p. 787—791.

Lennox

Lennox and the lady Margaret, and their heirs, of the yearly value of 6800 marks Scots, which is equal (ſays the record) to 1700 marks Engliſh [66]. James IV. and V. coined a good deal of money both of gold and ſilver; for a particular deſcription of which the reader muſt be referred to the work quoted below [67]; the introducing of it here would be tedious, and unſuitable to the deſign of general hiſtory. It may however be obſerved, that the kings of Scotland aſſumed the arched imperial crown upon their coins about the ſame time with the kings of England; that their coins were not inferior in their fabrication to thoſe of England; and that the gold coins of James V. called bonnet, (becauſe they have a bonnet on the king's head,) were the moſt elegant and beautiful coins in Europe in thoſe times.

Expence of living.

As money was certainly more plentiful in Britain, and the prices of proviſions and the other neceſſaries of life were higher in this than in the preceding period, we have reaſon to believe that the expence of living was only ſix, or rather five times cheaper in nominal pounds than it is at preſent [68]. Various evidences of this might be produced; but one deciſive proof will, it is hoped, be thought ſufficient. By an act of parliament A. D. 1545, it was provided, that when the church of a ſmall pariſh, whoſe benefice did not exceed ſix pounds a-year, was ſituated within a mile of another church, the ſmall

66 Rym. tom. xv. p. 31.

67 Numiſmata Scotiæ, by Adam de Cardonnel.

68 See Fleetwood's Chronicon Pretioſum, p. 118—120.

pariſh might be annexed to that other church. For this two reaſons are aſſigned: 1ſt, That it would ſave the expence of keeping up two churches. 2d, That ſix pounds a-year was too ſcanty a living for a pariſh prieſt. And may not the ſame thing be ſaid of five times ſix, or thirty pounds at preſent? By another clauſe in the ſame act it is provided, that if the pariſhioners of the ſmall pariſh annexed ſhall within a year raiſe their benefice to eight pounds a-year, the annexation ſhall be diſſolved; becauſe, in the opinion of this parliament, eight pounds was a competent living for the miniſter of a ſmall pariſh. And can more be ſaid of five times eight, or forty pounds a-year in our times? If we wiſh therefore to form a judgment of the real riches of perſons in the different ranks in ſociety at two different and diſtant periods, we muſt not only take into the account the quantity of money which they poſſeſſed, but chiefly the quantity of all other things which that money could have purchaſed. Thus, for example, the wages of a common labourer in our preſent period was only three-pence a-day; but he was really as rich, and could live as well as a labourer in our times who earns fifteen pence a-day. The ſame reaſoning will hold good with reſpect to perſons in all the other ranks in ſociety. Money is not only a capital article in commerce, but it is a kind of commercial barometer. When money is ſcarce it is dear, and all other things are cheap. When money abounds it is cheap, and all other things are dear. This bears hardeſt upon ſtipendiaries, who have a certain fixed

fixed income in money; becauſe as money increaſes, the value of their income gradually decreaſes, and in time becomes quite incompetent.

As ſhips are no leſs neceſſary to foreign and even to coaſting commerce than money, the ſtate of ſhipping requires ſome of our attention in every period.

The ſhips that had been formerly employed by the merchants of Britain in foreign trade were in general ſmall, many of them under fifty, and few of them above one hundred and fifty tons. A few ſhips of greater burthen are mentioned by our hiſtorians, but they are mentioned as a kind of prodigies [69]. But after the diſcovery of the New World, when more diſtant voyages were undertaken, the merchants of England began to build larger and ſtouter ſhips. In this they were aſſiſted and encouraged by Henry VII., who built ſeveral great ſhips, which he freighted to the merchants when they were not employed in the public ſervice. The ſhip in which Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth made three ſucceſsful voyages to the Braſils and the coaſt of Guinea, (the firſt in 1530,) is repreſented as a ſhip of uncommon magnitude, a ſtout tall ſhip, of two hundred and fifty tons [70].

But if the merchant ſhips were now in general larger and better built than thoſe of preceding times, the ſhips deſigned for war were, it is ſaid, augmented in ſize and ſtrength in a much greater proportion. About the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the great importance of ſuperiority at ſea

69 See vol. x. p. 274. 70 Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 700.

was well underſtood; and the ſovereigns of the ſeveral maritime ſtates of Europe began to vie with each other which of them ſhould have the largeſt and ſtouteſt ſhips of war. Henry VIII. built ſeveral great ſhips; particularly one named the Regent, of 1000 tons, which required a crew of eight hundred men [71]. The king of France had alſo a number of great ſhips, of which the Cordelier was by far the greateſt, and contained accommodation for eleven hundred men. Theſe two noble ſhips, the Regent and Cordelier, having grappled with one another in a ſea-fight off the port of Breſt A. D. 1512, they were both burned, with every perſon on board [72]. To replace the Regent, Henry VIII. ſoon after built another ſhip of the ſame burthen, but far more ſplendid and ornamental, called the Hary Grace Dieu [73]. King James IV. of Scotland, we are told, engaged alſo in this noble conteſt, and reſolved to build a greater ſhip than any that had yet appeared. Lindſay of Pitſcottie, who gives the moſt circumſtantial deſcription of this famous ſhip, which was called the Great Michael, ſays, that he received his information from Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, who was her quarter-maſter, and Robert Bartyne, who was maſter-ſkipper. As this writer ſeems to have been ſo well informed, it may not be improper to give his deſcription of this famous ſhip in his own words, changing only a few of them that would be unintelligible to an Engliſh reader.

[71] Archeologia, vol. vi. p. 201. [72] Hall, f. 22.
[73] Arch. vol. v. p. 209.

"In

" In this ſame year (1512) the king of Scot-
" land bigged a great ſhip, called the Great
" Michael, which was the greateſt ſhip and of
" the moſt ſtrength that ever ſailed in England or
" France: for this ſhip was of ſo great ſtature, and
" took ſo much timber, that, except Falkland, ſhe
" waſted all the woods in Fife, which was oak
" wood, beſides all timber that was gotten out of
" Norroway; for ſhe was ſo ſtrong and of ſo great
" length and breadth, to wit, ſhe was twelve-ſcore
" feet of length, and thirty-ſix feet within the
" ſides. All the wrights of Scotland, yea and
" many other ſtrangers, were at her device, by
" the king's commandment, who wrought very
" buſily in her; but it was year and day ere ſhe
" was complete. This great ſhip cumbered Scot-
" land to get her to the ſea. From that time
" that ſhe was a float, and her maſts and ſails com-
" plete, with ropes and ancores effiering thereto,
" ſhe was counted to the king to be thirty thou-
" ſand pounds of expences, beſides her artillery,
" which was very great and coſtly to the king, and
" beſides all the reſt of her furniture [74]. She had
" three hundred mariners to ſail her; ſhe had ſix-
" ſcore gunners to uſe her artillery, and had a
" thouſand men of war, beſides her captains,
" ſkippers, and quarter-maſters. If any man be-
" lieve that this deſcription of the ſhip is not of
" verity as we have written, let him paſs to the
" gate of Tillibarden, and there before the ſame

[74] 30,000l. Scots at that time contained as much ſilver as 15,000l. ſterling at preſent, and was equal in efficacy to 50,000l.

" ye will ſee the length and breadth of her planted " with hawthorn by the wright that helped to " make her [75]." Such is the deſcription of this ſhip given by Pitſcottie, and he certainly believed it to be true. It is probable, however, that he was miſinformed in ſome things, particularly that ſhe had a thouſand fighting men on board, which is hardly credible.

King James ſent this great ſhip with two other gallant ſhips, the Margaret and the James, and a fleet of ſmaller veſſels, having an army on board, to the aſſiſtance of the king of France, againſt a threatened invaſion of that kingdom by the Engliſh, which ſoon after took place [76]. The Great Michael never returned to Scotland, but was ſold by the duke of Albany to the king of France, A.D. 1514, for 40,000 franks [77]; a very great ſum in thoſe times. James IV., who had a taſte for maritime affairs, appears to have formed the deſign of raiſing a royal navy; but, by his untimely death, that deſign was blaſted. Henry VIII., who may be juſtly ſtyled the founder of the Engliſh navy, had formed the ſame deſign about the ſame time; but as he ſurvived king James upwards of thirty years, and was at the head of a much greater, more powerful, and opulent nation, he made much greater progreſs in the execution of that deſign; and at his death he left a fleet greatly ſuperior to that of any of his predeceſſors, and not inferior to that of any other prince in Europe. Some of

[75] Pitſcottie, p. 107. [76] Ibid. p. 110.
[77] Epiſt. R. R. Scot. tom. i. p. 214.

Henry's

Henry's predeceſſors had a few ſhips, which they employed ſometimes in trade, and ſometimes in war; but they did not deſerve the name of a navy. At the death of Henry VIII., the navy of England was on a very different footing; it conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips belonging to the crown, and only equipped for war. Some of theſe ſhips were of great magnitude: the Henry Grace de Dieu was of 1000 tons; ſhe carried 19 braſs and 103 iron guns; and her complement of men conſiſted of 349 ſoldiers, 301 mariners, and fifty gunners. There was another ſhip of 700 tons, two of 600, and two of 500, and the tonnage of the whole fleet was 6255 tons[78]. More evidence, if it was neceſſary, might be produced to prove, that the ſhips employed in England, and even in Scotland, both in trade and war, in this period, were in general larger, ſtronger, and better built than in any former time; which is a ſtrong preſumptive proof that the commerce, power, and opulence of the country had increaſed.

The trade of England was ſtill carried on, for the moſt part, by two great companies; the company of the German merchants of ſteelyard, and the company of the merchant adventurers of England. The firſt of theſe companies was the richeſt, the moſt ancient, and for ſeveral ages the moſt favoured by the kings of England, to whom they made valuable preſents. This company was compoſed almoſt wholly of foreigners, and was far from being popular. They became at length ſo

[78] Archæologia, vol. vi. p. 220.

unpopular,

unpopular, that their perſons were often inſulted and their goods plundered by the populace of London. The company of merchant adventurers conſiſted wholly of Engliſhmen, and every Engliſh merchant was admitted a member of it on paying a ſmall fine. It appears ſo to have been the intention of government to divide the trade of England between theſe two companies; and certain branches of it were allotted to each of them in their charters, with ſtrict prohibitions not to exceed their bounds. But the love of gain is not to be reſtrained by prohibitions lurking in charters. Theſe two companies encroached on each other's privileges, and brought bitter complaints againſt one another before the king and council. The complaints of the merchant adventurers were well-founded; the injuries they had received from the other company were very great, and ought to have been redreſſed: but their antagoniſts had powerful protectors at court, which enabled them to repel all attacks during the whole reign of Henry VIII. In the ſucceeding reign, the complaints of the merchant adventurers prevailed, and the privileges enjoyed by the merchants of the ſteelyard were, after mature deliberation, revoked, and their corporation aboliſhed, by the privy council. It appeared that they had exported in one year 44,000 pieces of cloth; and as they enjoyed an exemption from *alien* duties, they had defrauded the revenue, and injured the private adventurers, by colouring, or paſſing under their own names, the merchandize of other foreigners to a large amount [79].

[79] Anderſon, vol. i. p 383.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER VII.

History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Cuſtoms, Languages, Dreſs, and Diverſions of the People of Great Britain, from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Acceſſion of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

AMONG nations whoſe government is monarchical, the ſupreme magiſtrate is exalted to a power, and invoked by titles, ſcarcely compatible with human nature; while the people, from whom his authority originates, and on whoſe breath his exiſtence depends, are in hiſtory regarded only as ſubſervient to him. Their annals are adjuſted and

and marked by his reign, filled with his public tranſactions or ſecret policy; and as every atchievement is aſcribed to his auſpices, it is his life rather than their hiſtory that is recorded for the benefit of ſucceeding generations. From the public tranſactions, or the dark and diſhoneſt intrigues of princes, the tranſition to the private character of the people is grateful; yet there our attention is ſtill irreſiſtibly attracted to the ſovereign, whoſe example either extends to ſociety, or whoſe court is an index to the manners, cuſtoms, and taſte of the age.

Spirit of the Engliſh.

It is obſervable that the ſpirit of a nation is ſubject to frequent, and ſudden viciſſitudes; that it paſſes from the extremes of religious frenzy, or civil diſcord, to a ſtate of inactive and cold indifference. The Engliſh, after a long interruption, obtained, by the union of the rival roſes, the bleſſings of a permanent government and domeſtic concord, and were unwilling to forfeit theſe by the raſh renewal of their former troubles. The power of the nobles was broken, and their numbers diminiſhed; the policy of the crown had ſuppreſſed their retainers; war, or the progreſs of ſociety, had either deſtroyed or enfranchiſed their bondſmen; nor were armies ready to ſtart, as formerly, at the ſound of their trumpets. *Their* depreſſion, and the diſuſage of ſlavery, produced a ſalutary alteration on the ranks of ſociety, removing the materials as well as the cauſes of future commotions; but on the removal of theſe, an important change is perceptible in the ſpirit both of the government and

and people. The regal power, counteracted hitherto by that of the nobles, ſubſiſted, after the decline of their influence, without oppoſition and without reſtraint. Government was ſanguinary, the people were paſſive, ſubmiſſive to rapacious vindictive tyrants, at whoſe pleaſure the laws were either ſuperſeded or perverted. The ſcaffold ſtreamed with the blood of the nobles, and the flames of perſecution conſumed the religious; but the people ſuffered with patience, reſigned the conſtitution to their monarch, and received as their religion whatever his caprice or his paſſions might dictate. Other nations, amidſt the remains of chivalry, (the force of which was not yet exhauſted,) diſcovered in their government much of their preſent moderation and lenity; and the contemporary reigns of Charles and of Francis exhibit deſpotic authority mitigated by refinement, mild in its exerciſe, and unſtained by ſanguinary exertions of power. In England, a tyrannical government argues a more barbarous ſtate of ſociety. The people were inured to bloodſhed by the civil wars; and while their own ſecurity remained unaffected, beheld the fate of their ſuperiors with ſupine indifference, or perhaps with a ſecret malignant pleaſure. Government, it is true, was always vigilant to ſuppreſs their murmurs; and Henry VIII. condeſcended repeatedly to court their affections; religious conteſts ſerved to balance their hopes and their fears; and the religious parties into which they were divided, applauded alternately every tyrannical action of Henry's reign. Perhaps they

eſteemed his character; but theirs is marked by a tame ſervility, unexampled hitherto in the annals of England.

Their manners, though comparatively rude, attained in the preſent period to a conſiderable refinement; of which, however, it is difficult to aſcertain the preciſe degree, impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the minute gradations. Foreigners who viſited the country, have tranſmitted a favourable report of the inhabitants; and Polydore Virgil, with a viſible partiality, pronounces that theirs reſembled the Italian manners[1]; but Eraſmus informs us, that their manners participated of thoſe nations from whom they originated, exhibiting a mixture neither ſo refined as the French, nor ſo rude as the German[2]. The reſort of foreigners was conſiderable, and apparently acceptable to all ranks, the plebeians excepted[3], who, like their own maſtiffs, are ſtill noted for their antipathy to ſtrangers. The nobility and gentlemen of opulence began to travel for improvement through Europe, to ſtudy the languages, and acquire the refinement of different courts[4]; and this intercourſe with foreigners at home and abroad contributed, without ſupplanting, to correct the rudeneſs of the national manners.

[1] Hiſt. p. 15.

[2] Eraſmi Colloq. Diverſoria ad finem. Eraſmus promiſed a deſcription of Engliſh inns, which it is to be regretted he did not execute.

[3] Pol. Virgil, p. 15. Stowe, p. 505. Hall, Hen. VIII. p. 62.

[4] Surry, Wyat, and others, had travelled: and it is ſaid that the firſt of the Bedford family diſtinguiſhed at court was a Mr. Ruſſel, who had acquired by travelling, the languages of the continent, and was employed by Sir John Trenchard his kinſman to attend on Philip of Auſtria as an interpreter during his journey to court.

If the character, however, of a court be aſſumed from the ſovereign, theſe manners, in the court of Henry VII., muſt have been rude indeed. On arriving at a village where Catharine of Arragon, after landing in England, was lodged for the night, Henry was told that the princeſs had already retired to reſt; but he announced his intention of viſiting her bed-ſide, obliged her to riſe and dreſs to receive him, and affianced her that evening to his ſon prince Arthur[5]. Henry VIII. affected more gallantry, and his court was diſtinguiſhed by ſuperior politeneſs; but that romantic gallantry, which was congenial to Francis and to James IV., was adopted through emulation, and ſat with viſible conſtraint upon Charles, who diſregarded, and upon Henry, who forgot his youthful profeſſions of reſpect for the fair. His paſſions were impetuous, his gallantry was indelicate, yet his character brave, frank, and generous, like his grandfather Edward, though, like his father Henry, rapacious and jealous, attracted to nobility, and encourage a magnificence unknown till then in the Engliſh court. The nobility, who had formerly ſhunned the court, unleſs at ſeaſons when their appearance was neceſſary[6], began to frequent it in Henry's reign; they exchanged their ſolitary dignity for ſocial intercourſe, exhauſted their revenues in oſtentatious magnificence, and while their exiſtence literally depended on the ſmiles or frowns of a capricious

[5] Leland's Collectanea, vol. v. p 354.

[6] During parliament, or once a year, to perform their homage.

maſter,

maſter, acquired the frivolous, the pleaſing refinement of courtly manners.

But the poliſh of courts is imparted only to a portion of ſociety, and the refinement of the people may be eſtimated perhaps by their means of improvement, their early education, and domeſtic manners. Their education in the preſent period was extremely defective. Schools were rare; and before the reformation, young men were educated in monaſteries, women in nunneries; where the latter were inſtructed in writing, drawing, confectionary, needle-work, and, what were regarded then as female accompliſhments, in phyſic and ſurgery [7]. The acquiſitions of the former were confined to writing, and a tincture probably of barbarous Latin [8]; but ignorance was ſtill ſo common, that Fitzherbert recommends to gentlemen unable to commit notes to writing, the practice of notching a ſtick to aſſiſt their memory [9]. When removed from theſe ſeminaries to the houſes of their parents, both ſexes were treated in a manner that precluded improvement. Perhaps the beſt criterion of civilized ſociety is the free intercourſe, and reciprocal confidence between parents and their offspring; a ſituation in which an indulgent equality ſuperſedes authority, and conciliates mutual eſteem and affection. But domeſtic manners were

[7] Vid. a tract written in the laſt century, and publiſhed from a Ms. of Mr. Aſhle's in the Antiq. Repertory, vol. iii. p. 43.

[8] A ſpecimen, not indeed very intelligible, of the Latin acquired at Eto, may be found in Fenn's Orig. Letters. vol. i. p. 300.

[9] Huſbandry, p. 86.

ſevere

ſevere and formal; a haughty reſerve was affected by the old, and an abject deference exacted from the young. Sons, when arrived at manhood, are repreſented as ſtanding uncovered and ſilent, in their father's preſence; and daughters, though women, were placed like ſtatues at the cupboard; nor permitted to ſit, or repoſe themſelves otherwiſe than by kneeling on a cuſhion, till their mother departed. Such auſtere manners were prevalent even in France [10], and peculiar rather to the age than the nation; but the Engliſh, I am afraid, diſcover a latent, unfeeling ferocity in the relentleſs rigour of their domeſtic tribunals. Omiſſions were puniſhed by ſtripes and blows; and chaſtiſement was carried to ſuch exceſs, that the daughters trembled at the ſight of their mother, and the ſons avoided and hated their father [11]. Theſe circumſtances indicate that the manners of the people were ceremonious and ſtately, their refinement artificial, adopted only in their external intercourſe, not habitual, nor retained to purify domeſtic life.

Chivalry, though its influence diminiſhed daily, ſtill ſubſiſted as a ſplendid ſpectacle, ſupported by the mutual emulation of princes, their enthuſiaſtic gallantry, or their predilection for arms and exploits of valour. Francis and James IV. imbibed the Chivalry.

[10] "At Roſny are ſtill ſhewn two ſtone benches, where the illuſtrious Sully enjoyed domeſtic comfort, himſelf ſeated, and the reſt of his family ſtanding uncovered near a bench facing him." Vid. Mirabeau's Conſiderations on the Order of Cincinnatus; note AA.

[11] Vid. Tract. ut ſupra—Fenn's Letters, paſſim.

genuine ſpirit of chivalry; and in an age when craft began to predominate in politics, their conduct was often prepoſterouſly adjuſted by the precipitate dictates of romantic honour. The introduction of refinement and taſte in Scotland is aſcribed to the eſpouſals of James and Margaret; but although the people were fierce and untractable, the court was poliſhed, and the king, whoſe deportment during the celebration of his nuptials was remarked and recorded, diſplayed the courteſy of an accompliſhed knight, and a delicacy far ſuperior to the Engliſh monarchs [12]. Henry VIII. delighted in chivalry; its ſpirit neither perverted his judgment, nor improved his heart; but his tournaments gratified his taſte for magnificence and his paſſion for arms. On theſe amuſements, in which he engaged as a conſtant combatant, his father's treaſures were profuſely expended. His weapons ſometimes were unuſual, at leaſt at tourneys, the battle-axe, and two-handed ſword [13]; but theſe, I ſuppoſe, were *rebated* or blunted, as the ſpears were with which the combatants were furniſhed. Yet on one occaſion his life was endangered by his favourite Brandon, who ſhivered a ſpear on his helmet, without perceiving that his vizor was open, and his face expoſed to a mortal blow [14]. At his interview with Francis in *the field of the cloth of gold*, his ſtrength and dexterity were both conſpicuous in a tournament perhaps the moſt ſplendid of the

[12] Vid. An account of Margaret's journey to Scotland, and reception there, in Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 265.

[13] Herbert's Hiſt. p. 13. [14] Hall, 122.

age.

age. The two kings, who, with fourteen companions, had undertaken to encounter all who challenged, entered the liſts with their aſſiſtants, ſumptuouſly arrayed, in the richeſt tiſſues; and in the preſence of their queens awaited the appearance of thoſe knights whom the fame of their tournament was ſuppoſed to have attracted. Their opponents were ready, twelve gentlemen richly habited. Francis began; and after performing ſucceſſive courſes, and breaking ſeveral ſpears with applauſe, was ſucceeded by Henry, who ſhivered his ſpear at the firſt encounter; at the ſecond, demoliſhed his antagoniſt's helmet. Their juſtings were continued for five days with equal ſplendour and ſimilar ſucceſs; and the minute deſcriptions of the attire of the knights and the trappings of the horſes, of their quaint devices and feats in arms, aſſure us that theſe ſpectacles were highly eſtimated [15]. The mock encounters of princes appear at preſent unimportant and trivial, as thoſe of the mimic monarchs of the ſtage; yet if a ſervile or brutal exhibition delighted, by its maſſacre, the refined and rational nations of antiquity, how ſuperior, as a ſpectacle, is the image of war, where kings and heroes are the only combatants?

Simplicity of the times.

Theſe, inſpected at a diſtance, were magnificent times, yet diverſified withal, when examined cloſely, with ſimplicity of manners, and plainneſs or penury in the chief comforts of modern life. Margaret, on her marriage with James IV., made her public entry into Edinburgh, riding on a pillion

[15] Hall, 77.

behind the king [16]. The apartments of Hampton-court had been furniſhed, on a particular occaſion, each with a large candleſtick, a baſon, goblet, and ewer, of ſilver; yet the furniture of Henry's chamber, independent of the bed and cupboard, conſiſted only of a joint-ſtool, a pair of andirons, and a ſmall mirror [17]. The halls and chambers of the wealthy were ſurrounded with hangings, ſometimes of arras, and repleniſhed with a cupboard, long tables, or rather looſe boards placed upon treſtles, forms, a chair, and a few joint-ſtools [18]. Their beds were apparently comfortable, often elegant; but thoſe of inferior condition ſlept on a mat, or a ſtraw pallet, under a rug, with a log for a pillow. Glaſs windows were confined to churches and manſions, and carpets were only employed to garniſh the cupboard [19]. The floors, compoſed of clay, and covered either with ſand or ruſhes, were foul and loathſome, collecting and retaining for twenty years the offals of the table, and the putrid excretions of dogs and men; and Eraſmus, from whom this deſcription is taken, attributes juſtly to the uncleanlineſs of the Engliſh the frequent and deſtructive viſitations of the plague [20].

Virtues. The morals are leſs flexible than the manners of a people; and thoſe virtues that in former ages diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh, ſubſiſted in the preſent with little alteration. The Engliſh were generous

[16] Leland's Coll. vol. iv. p. 284.
[17] Supra, ch. v. ſect. 1. Strutt, vol. iii. p. 69. [18] Id. 65.
[19] Holliŋgſhed, p. 188. Tract. ut ſupra. Vid. Strutt.
[20] Epiſt. 432.

and

and brave as formerly, fond of war and intrepid in danger. Their hoſpitality continued, not indeed in its former profuſion, but corrected rather than abated by the changes produced on the modes of life. Their active virtues have already been enumerated in our former volumes, in a manner that renders repetition unneceſſary. Their predominant vices afford a more copious and ungrateful ſubject; for the reformation detected the profligate lives of the monks and clergy, and the eloquence of the pulpit, acquiring from the reformers a new direction and additional vigour, touched with freedom or aſperity the vices of the people.

Ignorance, a venial imperfection in the laity, becomes criminal in thoſe who profeſs to teach or to diſcover the way to ſalvation; but perhaps the ignorance formerly conſpicuous both in the monaſtics and the ſecular clergy, diminiſhed after the dawn of reformation and letters. Their pravity did not diminiſh however, but reſiſted, at leaſt in England, the cenſures of their enemies, and the ſenſe of their own impendent danger. The viſitations that preceded the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, diſcovered, if credit be due to the inſpectors, crimes the moſt degrading to human nature. Hypocritical ſanctity and holy frauds are congenial to every monaſtic inſtitution; and the counterfeit relics impoſed on the vulgar, or the artifices practiſed to ſupport their credit, are to be regarded as the eſtabliſhed trade and profeſſion of religious orders. Intemperance is alſo to be expected wherever aſcetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid

Vices of the clergy.

diſcipline; nor is their guilt inexpiable, if, after indulging in evening collations, they aſſembled irregularly, and drunk to matins. But the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion; the lewdneſs of the monks, the incontinence of the nuns, the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monſtrous luſts which the former indulged [21]. The particulars would ſtain and diſhonour our page; yet an hiſtorian, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wiſh to believe, that the reports of the viſitors were inflamed by zeal, and perverted by an intereſted and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unſupported by evidence, to accuſe a community of crimes repugnant to human nature; and their veracity ſeems to be vindicated by their extreme ſolicitude to preſerve ſome convents whoſe conduct was exemplary. But theſe crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their exiſtence doubtful, or the licentious lives of the regulars diſputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the cenſures and menaces of Morton the primate. If, at the commencement of this period, the monks of St. Alban's had begun, in different convents, to diſplace the nuns and ſubſtitute proſtitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterwards improved or their diſcipline re-eſtabliſhed [22].

Their hoſpitality.

The monks, however, had a merit in their liberal hoſpitality and charity. Their tables were open

[21] Strype, vol. i. ch. 34 and 35. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. vol. i. p. 241. Antiq. Repertory, vol. iii. 166. [22] Supra, ch. ii.

to

to ſtrangers, and as the cheer was excellent, much frequented by the neighbouring gentlemen. At St. Alban's, and probably at other abbies, every traveller found an hoſpitable reception for three days; and was then permitted, if his conduct was ſatisfactory, or his buſineſs important, to protract his ſtay [23]. The fragments of their luxury furniſhed an extenſive charity; and their indulgence to their tenants, whoſe rents were always moderate, endeared them to the peaſants. In Scotland, where the regulars were not, I believe, ſo diſſolute, ſimilar hoſpitality was ſupported in monaſteries; and in the abbey of Aberbrothick, about nine thouſand buſhels of malt ſeem to have been annually expended in ale [24]. But theſe communities were prejudicial, even by their charities, to the increaſe of induſtry; and their diſſolution aſſures us that the moſt venerable inſtitutions, however ſanctioned by time or ſupported by prejudice, may be ſuppreſſed, when uſeleſs, without detriment or danger to ſociety. It is probable that forty thouſand were diſcharged from different religious houſes; and it is certain that a number, ſuperior to that of the clergy at preſent, was abſorbed with facility into the maſs of the people.

Vices of the people.

From the morals of the clergy, the tranſition to thoſe of the laity is natural; and Henry, after diſlodging vice from the cloiſters, proceeded, in the ſame ſtrain of reformation, to cleanſe the ſtews. Theſe were a range of buildings in Southwark, on

[23] Antiq. Rep. vol. iii. p. 61. [24] Chartulary.

the banks of the Thames, privileged by patent as brothels, regulated by ſtatute, and tolerated as a neceſſary drain for corruption, from the reign of Henry II. to the laſt year of Henry VIII. The wretched proſtitutes were then expelled, the ſtews were *put down* by ſound of trumpet [25], and their ſuppreſſion was perhaps attended with more ſolemnity than that of the convents. Their ſuppreſſion failed however to extirpate lewdneſs; and Latimer, whoſe ſermons are replete with a barbarous eloquence, inveighs bitterly at its ſubſequent prevalence: "You have put down the ſtews," ſays this rude declaimer, "but what is the matter "amended? What availeth that? Ye have but "changed the place, and not taken the whoredom "away. I adverti ſe you, in God's name, to look "to it. I hear ſay there is now more whoredom "in London than ever there was in the Bank. "There is more open whoredom, more *ſtewed* "whoredom [26]." The vices obnoxious to clerical cenſures are not always pernicious to ſociety, nor is their magnitude certain, when tranſmitted through the medium of intemperate zeal. But Latimer's propoſal, in a court ſermon, for reſtraining adultery by a capital puniſhment, atteſts its prevalence [27]; nor is any inferior infliction too ſevere for a crime that embitters life, and corrodes the deareſt connexions of nature; a crime, in its ultimate conſequences, ſubverſive either of ſocial

[25] Stowe's Survey, by Strype, vol. ii. p. 7. Howel, Londonopolis, p. 337. [26] Latimer's Sermons, p. 43. [27] Id. 103.

intercourſe,

intercourſe, or productive of an utter relaxation of morals.

The vices and the follies peculiar to the age are neceſſarily the chief topics of pulpit eloquence; and, if credit were due to this ſevere reformer, the ſtateſmen and judges were corrupted by bribery, the people profligate, deſtitute of charity, immerſed in vice, and devoted to perdition[28]. Wherever government is arbitrary, the adminiſtration of juſtice is perverted and partial; and judges ſubſervient to regal influence are certainly not inacceſſible to ſecret corruption. The unmeaning oaths to which the Engliſh have in every age been addicted are peculiarly offenſive to pious ears, and in ſome minds generate a perſuaſion, that a people habituated to profane ſwearing are diſaffected to the Deity whoſe name they diſhonour, impervious to religion, and inſenſible of virtue. It may be obſerved, however, with more propriety, that habitual ſwearing diminiſhes our ſenſe of the obligation attached to judicial oaths. Perjury was ſtill the predominant vice that tainted the morals of every rank, and infected even the breaſt of the ſovereign. Juries were perjured; their verdicts were generally procured by bribery; their corruption was notorious, and encouraged openly by Henry VII. in the iniquitous proſecution of his own ſubjects[29]. Princes claim and obtain an exemption from vulgar honeſty; and that which is

[28] Latimer's Sermons, p. 18. 46. 55. 63. 66. 84.

[29] Stowe, 485. 11 Hen. VII. c. 21. 23 Hen. VIII. c. 3. Barrington's Obſerv. on the Stat. p. 410.

fraud

fraud and perfidy in private life, is dignified, in their tranſactions, by the appellation of policy; yet the reader muſt obſerve, with ſome ſurpriſe, the repeated examples contained in this hiſtory, of princes corrobórating, by mutual oaths and the rites of religion, thoſe treaties which they had previouſly determined to fruſtrate or violate. Their treaties are at preſent neither more permanent nor more ſecure; but the intervention of oaths is wiſely omitted, as a ſuperfluous adjection, not obligatory on the lax morals peculiar to princes.

Robbery. To theſe crimes may be added theft and robbery, which were ſtill ſo prevalent, that twenty-two thouſand criminals are ſaid to have been executed by the rigid juſtice of Henry VIII. Robbery was ſeldom attended with murder, and was probably ſtill regarded as an occupation, of which the guilt might be extenuated by courage and ſucceſs [30]. Murders and aſſaſſinations are frequent however in Scottiſh hiſtory, for the people were cruel, fierce, and ungovernable; and, to judge from the deſperate crimes of the nobility, their manners were neither more ſoftened, nor their paſſions better controlled and regulated. But, whatever be the crimes of a people, there is in human nature a reforming principle that ultimately corrects and amends its degeneracy; and hiſtory furniſhes repeated examples of nations paſſing from even a vicious effeminacy, to an enthuſiaſm that regenerates every virtue.

Religion. Such a change was effected, in a partial degree, by

[30] Hollingſhed, p. 186. 199. 246.

the

the reformation; which, recalling its proſelytes from the errors and abuſes of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, taught them to renounce the diſſipation and vices of the age, to aſſume the badge of ſuperior ſanctity and more rigid virtue, to ſuffer in adverſity with patience, and to encounter perſecution and death with fortitude. Sectaries, from the conſtant circumſpection requiſite in their conduct, contract an habitual and gloomy ſeverity; and foreigners, ever more obſervant than natives, diſcovered, in the preſent period, ſymptoms of that puritanical ſpirit which, at the diſtance of a century, was deſtined to give liberty to England and law to kings [31].

Credulity.

The reformation might reflect diſcredit on recent miracles; but the period is ſtill diſtinguiſhed by exceſſive credulity. The aſtrologers in 1523, from the approach of eclipſes and planetary conjunctions, predicted inceſſant rains and deſtructive inundations: the people were alarmed; many retired to the high grounds for ſafety; the abbot of Bartholomew in Smithfield built a houſe, which he ſtored with proviſions, on Harrow of the Hill; and thoſe who repoſed in the promiſe to Noah, were ſtill apprehenſive of a partial inundation, and collected meal ſufficient for ſubſiſtence till the waters ſubſided. But the year elapſed with little rain, and the aſtrologers redeemed their credit, by confeſſing a miſtake in their calculations of an hundred years [32]. The reformers probably were leſs credulous; but, believing that the pope was antichriſt,

[31] Eraſmi Epiſt. 127. Scaliger. 21. [32] Hall. Hen. VIII. 123.

they

they expected, as his power was partly broken, the ſpeedy arrival of Chriſt in judgment; and, in every unuſual appearance of the heavens, perceived, with a mixture of hope and trepidation, thoſe ſigns ſuppoſed to announce the ceſſation of time, and deſtruction of the world[33]. An Egyptian experiment repeated by James IV. exhibits the ſuperſtitious credulity of the Scots. Whether to diſcover the primitive language of the human race, or to aſcertain the firſt formation of ſpeech, he incloſed two children with a dumb attendant in Inchkeith, an uninhabited iſland of the Forth; and it was believed that the children, on arriving at maturity, communicated their ideas in pure Hebrew, the language of Paradiſe[34].

I would mention as an inſtance of credulity, the belief of a monſtrous production of the human ſpecies, but the concurrence of grave hiſtorians atteſts and renders the fact indiſputable. This monſter was born in Scotland, and its appearance ſuggeſted the idea of twins fortuitouſly conjoined in the womb, united at the navel, into a common trunk, and terminating below in the limbs of a male, but diſparted above into two bodies, diſtinct and proportioned in all their parts, each endued with ſeparate members, and animated each by a ſeparate intelligence. Their ſenſations were common when excited in the loins or inferior extremities; peculiar to one, and unfelt by the other, when produced on the par-

33 Latimer, 247. 34 Pitſcottie, 104.

ticular

ticular body of either. Their perceptions were different, their mental affections unconnected, their wills independent, at times diſcordant, and again adjuſted by mutual conceſſion. They received, by the direction of James IV., ſuch liberal education as the times afforded; attained in muſic to conſiderable proficiency, and acquired a competent knowledge of various languages. Their death was miſerable: at the age of twenty-eight the one expired; and his body corrupting, tainted and putrified his living brother [35].

The feudal ſyſtem was productive, among other prepoſterous cuſtoms, of early marriages, formed without diſparagement of rank or birth, but without regard to diſparity of age or repugnance of ſentiment. Vaſſals, during their wardſhip, were at the abſolute diſpoſal of their lord, who literally ſold them, while minors, in marriage; and prudent fathers, to fruſtrate his rapacity, were careful to accelerate, before their death, the nuptials of their offſpring. The cuſtom extended beyond the neceſſity from which it originated, and the death of prince Arthur is to be aſcribed to the premature conſummation, at the age of fifteen, of his marriage with Katherine. When, on her divorce from Henry, a proof of that delicate circumſtance was requiſite, the opinion of two witneſſes, the duke Cuſtoms.

[35] Buchanan, 242. Piſcottie, 103. Hawthornden, 69.

Mortua, quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Componens manibuſque manus, atque oribus ora
Tormenti genus! et ſanie taboque fluentes
Complexu in miſero, longa ſic morte necabat. VIRGIL.

of

of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewſbury, was founded on their own marriage at the age of prince Arthur; and it is remarkable that Herbert, the hiſtorian of theſe tranſactions, was himſelf married at the ſame age to a woman of twenty [36]. Chivalry was the ſeaſon of romantic love; yet, as mankind are actuated chiefly by intereſt, marriage, with few exceptions, has in every age been a ſordid bargain.

The mode which is ſtill peculiar to Britain, of ſaluting ladies, appears to have excited the ſurpriſe of foreigners; and Eraſmus, who approved of it as a laudable cuſtom, avers with pleaſantry, that whether you viſit, depart, or return, whether you aſſemble by concert, or encounter by accident, you cannot ſtir in England without an interchange of luſcious kiſſes [37]. An interchange not ſo diſintereſted was ſupported at court, where, on the new year, the king accepted, from his nobles and clergy, of gifts from five to fifty pounds, and repaid them either with ſmiles or occaſional preſents of gilt plate [38]. On ſolemn feſtivals, the king and his nobles beſtowed each his *largeſs* on the guards or attendants, and an herald proclaimed the different donations with much ſolemnity; but James IV. delicately ſuppreſſed, at his marriage, the mention of his own, when his queen's was publiſhed [39]. Marriages, chriſtenings, and eſtabliſhed feſtivals,

[36] Herbert's Hiſt. p. 270. Herbert's Life, p. 26.

[37] Epiſt. 65. In the deſcription of Margaret's journey to Scotland, which was written by an herald, every kiſs that ſhe received is recorded with care. Lel. Col. vol. iv.

[38] Strype, vol. i. p. 138. Walpole's Anec. vol. i.

[39] Ibid.

furniſhed

furniſhed frequent occaſions for convivial intercourſe; but the gentlemen are deſcribed as aſſembling at other times in fields or foreſts, with hawks and hounds, and bugles ſuſpended in ſilken baldricks [40]. There, under the pretext of hunting, they had often concerted rebellions, or convoked their military retainers to arms; and an early ſtatute of Henry VII.'s ſtill prohibits their hunting in vizors, or during the darkneſs and concealment of night [41].

The domeſtic manners of the Scots have ſeldom attracted hiſtorical notice; and their advances in refinement are to be collected or conjectured from their peculiar cuſtoms, their progreſs in the arts, and their improvements in the various comforts of life. Their morals, contraſted with thoſe of their anceſtors, are arraigned as degenerate by their hiſtorian Boethius, who accuſes their intemperance, cenſures their luxury, and laments their departure from the frugal moderation and rugged virtues of the ancient Scots [42]. His deſcription, however, of theſe primitive, obdurate virtues is far from attractive; and what *he* denominates vicious intemperance and exceſſive luxury, may be fairly interpreted an increaſing refinement, and ſuperior elegance in ſocial life. The nobles, who reſorted ſeldom to cities, preſerved in their caſtles their former rude but hoſpitable magnificence, which increaſed their retainers and ſtrengthened their power, ſecured their ſafety, or enabled them to Scots.

[40] Tract. ut ſupra, in the Antiq. Repert. [41] 1 Hen. VII. ch. 7. [42] Boethius Deſcrip. Scot. p. 12.

proſecute their deadly feuds. The people were divided into factions by thoſe lords to whom they attached themſelves, whoſe intereſt they eſpouſed, and whoſe quarrels they adopted [43]; and the clans peculiar at preſent to the Highlands, were probably once univerſal in Scotland. In the Highlands, and on the borders, clans were perpetuated by a conſtant warfare, that inured the people to the fierceneſs and rapine of a predatory life. As thieves and plunderers their character was proverbial; yet the depredations, committed generally on hoſtile tribes, aſſume an appearance of military virtue; and their mutual fidelity, their obſervance of promiſes, and, in the Highlands, their inviolable attachment to their chieftains, are circumſtances ſufficient almoſt to redeem their character [44]. The Chattan clan, during the minority of James V., had made a deſtructive incurſion into Murray, but after their return were aſſailed and oppreſſed by ſuperior forces; and two hundred of the tribe, rather than betray their chieftain or diſcloſe his retreat, preferred and ſuffered an ignominious death [45].

Language. The mutability of language, to the learned, whoſe fame depends on its duration, an inceſſant topic of ſerious regret, ſeems to be counteracted by the art of printing, which, in proportion as it diſſeminates a taſte for letters, re-acts as a model on colloquial ſpeech, and operates, if not entirely to repreſs innovation, at leaſt to preſerve the ſtability, and perpetuate the radical ſtructures of language. Such ſta-

[43] Major's Hiſt. p. 32. [44] Leſly's Hiſt. pp. 56. 61.
[45] Id. 425.

bility

bility the Engliſh language has acquired from printing, and at the diſtance of three centuries, ſtill exhibits the ſame phraſeology and ſyntactical form, varied only by thoſe alterations eſſential to the progreſſive refinement of ſpeech. The language of the period, if neceſſary to diſcriminate its peculiar ſtyle, was unpoliſhed and oral; its character is rude ſimplicity, neither aſpiring to elegance, nor ſolicitous of eaſe, but written as it was ſpoken, without regard to ſelection or arrangement. Reduced to modern orthography, it is only diſtinguiſhable from the common colloquial diſcourſe of the preſent period, by a certain ruſt of antiquity, by phraſes that are abrogated, or words that are either effaced or altered. Theſe, however, are not numerous; and we may conclude, from the compoſitions of the learned, that the language of the people differed little from the preſent, unleſs in pronunciation, which, to judge from orthography, was harſh, and ſuch as would now be denominated provincial or vulgar. Whatever has been ſince ſuperadded, either by a ſkilful arrangement, or the incorporation of foreign or claſſical words and idioms, is more the province of critical diſquiſition than hiſtorical reſearch; yet it merits obſervation, that the firſt attempts at elegance are aſcribable, in poetry to Surry, in proſe perhaps to ſir Thomas More, whoſe Engliſh ſtyle, as it was modelled on his Latin, is conſtructed with art, and replete with inverſions, approaching to that which, in contradiſtinction to the vulgar, may be juſtly denominated a learned diction.

This hiſtory has already furniſhed ſufficient ſpecimens both of the Scottiſh and Engliſh languages, which, deſcended from the ſame Gothic original, and nearly ſimilar in former periods, divaricated conſiderably during the preſent. This is to be attributed to the alteration and improvement of the Engliſh, for the Scottiſh was more ſtationary; nor is there in the language, a material difference between the compoſitions of James the Firſt, and thoſe of Bellenden [46], Dunbar, and Douglas; each of whom, by the liberal adaptation of Latin words, enriched and poliſhed his vernacular idiom. But for the union of the crowns, which in literature rendered the Engliſh the prevalent language, the Scottiſh might have riſen to the merit of a rival dialect, different rather in pronunciation than ſtructure; not ſo ſolemn but more energetic, nor leſs ſuſceptible of literary culture.

Dreſs. Dreſs, ſubmitted to the guidance of taſte or vanity, is firſt diſplayed in magnificence; then, when the improvement of manufactures has rendered magnificence cheap and common, in the inceſſant change and variety of faſhion. The dreſs of the period was coſtly, and in its faſhions ſubject to frequent fluctuation; ſo coſtly, that the wardrobes of the nobility in fifty years had increaſed to twenty times their former value [47]: ſo changeable, that the capricious inconſtancy of the national dreſs was quaintly repreſented by the figure of an Engliſh-

[46] Bellenden, archdeacon of Murray, tranſlated Livy and Hector Boethius into Scotch; the latter was publiſhed, the former is in MSS. in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh.

[47] Fitzherbert's Huſbandry, p. 96.

man

man naked, in a muſing poſture, with ſheers in his hand, and cloth on his arm, perplexed amidſt a multiplicity of faſhions, and uncertain how to deviſe his garments [48]. Theſe faſhions it is impoſſible now to diſcover, but the general dreſs of the period may be deſcribed from prints and pictures with ſufficient preciſion.

Its faſhions.

The dreſs of the nobility, during the reigns of Richard and Henry the Seventh, was groteſque and fantaſtical, ſuch as renders it difficult at firſt to diſtinguiſh the ſex. Over the breeches was worn a petticoat; the doublet was laced, like the ſtays of a pregnant woman, acroſs a ſtomacher, and a gown or mantle with wide ſleeves deſcended over the doublet and petticoat down to the ancles. Commoners were ſatisfied, inſtead of a gown, with a frock or tunick ſhaped like a ſhirt, gathered at the middle, and faſtened round the loins by a girdle, from which a ſhort dagger was generally ſuſpended. But the petticoat was rejected after the acceſſion of Henry the Eighth, when the *trauſes* or tight breeches, that diſplayed the minute ſymmetry of the limbs, was revived, and the length of the doublet and mantle diminiſhed. The faſhions which the great have diſcarded, are often retained by the lower orders, and the form of the tunick, a Saxon garment, may be ſtill diſcovered in the waggoner's frock; of the trauſe, and perhaps of the petticoat, in the different trowſers that are worn by ſeamen. Theſe habits were again diverſified by minute decorations and changes of faſhion: from an opinion

[48] Camden's Remains, p. 17.

that corpulence contributes to dignity, the doublet was puckered, ſtuffed, and diſtended around the body; the ſleeves were ſwelled into large ruffs; and the breeches bolſtered about the hips; but how ſhall I deſcribe an artificial protuberance, groſs and indecent, in the age of Henry the Eighth, if we judge from his, and the portraits of others, a familiar appurtenance to the dreſs of the ſovereign, the knight, and mechanic, at a future period retained in comedy as a favourite theme of licentious merriment [49]? The doublet and breeches were ſometimes ſlaſhed, and, with the addition of a ſhort cloak, to which a ſtiffened cap was peculiar, reſembled the national dreſs of the Spaniards. The doublet is now transformed into a waiſtcoat, and the cloak or mantle, to which the ſleeves of the doublet were transferred, has been converted gradually into a modern coat; but the dreſs of the age was juſtly cenſured as inconvenient and clumſy. "Men's ſervants," to whom the faſhions had deſcended with the cloaths of their maſters, "have "ſuche pleytes," ſays Fitzherbert, "upon theyr "breſtes, and ruffes uppon theyr ſleves, above "theyr elbowes, that yf theyr mayſter, or theym "ſelfe, hadde never ſo greatte neede, they coulde "not ſhoote one ſhote to hurte theyr ennemyes, "tyll they had caſte of theyr cotes, or cut of theyr "ſleves [50]." The dreſs of the peaſantry was

[49] The codpiece, on which Shakeſpeare is often ſo witty, made its firſt appearance, I believe, at the French court. It appears in a portrait of Henry by Holbein, and became ſo prevalent, that we diſcover it even in the picture of a common beadle. Vide Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii.

[50] Fitzherbert's Huſbandry, p. 96.

ſimilar,

ſimilar, but more convenient, conſiſting generally of trunk hoſe, and a doublet of coarſe and durable fuſtian [51].

The materials employed in dreſs were rich and expenſive; cloth of gold, furs, ſilks, and velvets, profuſely embroidered. The habits of Henry VIII. and his queen, on their proceſſion to the Tower previous to their coronation, are deſcribed by Hall, an hiſtorian delighting in ſhows and ſpectacles. "His grace wared in his upperſt apparrell "a robe of crimſyn velvet, furred with armyns; "his jacket or cote of raiſed gold; the placard "embrodered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, "greate pearles, and other riche ſtones; a greate "bauderike aboute his necke, of large balaſſes. "The quene was appareled in white ſatyn embro-"dered, her haire hangyng downe to her backe, "of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to "behold, and on her hedde a coronall, ſet with "many riche orient ſtones [52]." The attire of females was becoming and decent, ſimilar in its faſhion to their preſent dreſs, but leſs ſubject to change and caprice [53]. The large and fantaſtic head-dreſſes of the former age were ſuperſeded by coifs and velvet bonnets, beneath which the matron gathered her locks into tufts or *tuſſocks*; but the virgin's head was uncovered, and her hair braided and faſtened with ribbons [54]. Among gentle-

Magnificence.

Female dreſs.

[51] For a more particular account of the dreſs of this period vid. Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. p. 75. plates 1. 12, 13, 14.

[52] Hall, p. 3. [53] Polydore Virgil, p. 15.

[54] Latimer, p. 107. Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 179.

men, long hair was fashionable through Europe till the emperor Charles during a voyage devoted his locks for his health or safety [55]; and in England, Henry, a tyrant even in taste, gave efficacy to the fashion by a peremptory order for his attendants and courtiers to *poll their heads* [56]. The same spirit induced him, probably, by sumptuary laws to regulate the inordinate dress of his subjects. Cloth of gold or tissue was reserved for dukes and marquises; if of a purple colour, for the royal family. Silks and velvets were restricted to commoners of wealth or distinction; but embroidery was interdicted from all beneath the degree of an earl. Cuffs for the sleeves, and bands and ruffs for the neck, were the invention of this period; but felt-hats were of earlier origin, and were still coarser and cheaper than caps or bonnets [57]. Pockets, a convenience unknown to the ancients, are perhaps the latest real improvement on dress; but, instead of pockets, a loose pouch seems to have been sometimes suspended from the girdle [58].

Scotland. The Scottish was apparently the same with the English dress, the bonnet excepted, peculiar both in its colour and form. The masks and trains, and superfluous finery of female apparel, had been formerly prohibited; but fashion is superior to human laws, and we learn from the satirical invectives

[55] Whether in consequence of a vow or a head ach is disputed by historians, Herbert, p. 316. [56] Stowe, p. 571.

[57] Strutt, vol. iii. p. 83. 4 Hen. VII. c. 8. by which the price of the best hats is limited to 20d. of the best caps to 2s. 8d.

[58] Strutt, plates 1. 14. vol. iii.

of

of poets, that the ladies ſtill perſiſted in retaining their finery and muzzling their faces [59].

The diet of the peaſantry is ſubject, in different periods, to few alterations; becauſe it conſiſts of the common produce of the ſoil, prepared in the ſimpleſt manner for food. Their bread-corn in England was rye or barley, ſometimes oats mixed with pulſe; a food preferred for its nutrition to wheat, which, till rendered by a better cultivation cheap and abundant, was uſually confined to the tables of the wealthy [60]. Theſe tables were more luxurious and expenſive than formerly; diſtinguiſhed by the variety of delicate viands, as well as by the quantity of ſubſtantial fare [61]; and Polydore expatiates with viſible complacency on the various pleaſures of thoſe tables at which he had feaſted; on the juicy flavour of the mutton, and the ſweetneſs of the beef, eſpecially when ſlightly ſalted; on the tenderneſs of the young geeſe and the Kentiſh hens; the delicacy of the partridges, pheaſants, and quails; and the fatneſs of the larks, thruſhes, and blackbirds, of which incredible numbers were caught in winter, and preſented almoſt at every table. But his taſte was peculiarly gratified by the varieties and abundance of excellent fiſh, which, to a churchman, renders the mortification even of the appetite luxurious; he diſcriminates the gurnard,

59 Black Acts, p. 43. The ſtatute provides, "That no woman "cum to kirk nor mercat with hir face muſſalit." Dunbar and Lindſay inveigh at the extravagance of the ladies in dreſs.

60 Moryſon's Itiner ry, part iii. p. 449.

61 Fitzherbert's Huſbandry, 97. According to this writer, the table was four times more expenſive than in former times.

whiting, mullet, turbot, breme, and ſturgeon; depreciates the mackerel as dry, the ſhad as inſipid; extols the rich and delicious oyſters, and approves of the recent tranſlation of the pike from fens and lakes into gentlemen's ponds [62]. To theſe the carp might be added, introduced from the continent in the preſent period as ſtore for ponds [63]; and from theſe particulars, to a foreigner important, we may conclude that few delicacies were wanting at feaſts. Vegetables, however, were ſparingly provided; and as regular markets were not general, country families killed a number of beeves at Michaelmas, and ſubſiſted till Whitſuntide on ſalted meat [64].

Manner of living.

Their cookery cannot now be appreciated, or diſtinguiſhed otherwiſe than by a profuſion of hot ſpices with which every diſh was indiſcriminately ſeaſoned [65]. Dinner and ſupper were ſerved in the hall, where the firſt table was placed in a ſort of receſs, or elevation, at the upper end, and reſerved for the landlord and his principal gueſts, while viſitors leſs reſpectable were ſeated with the officers of the houſehold, at long and narrow tables that occupied the ſides and the middle of the hall. The rank of the gueſts was again diſcriminated by

[62] Polydore Virgil, p. 13.

[63] Hollingſhed, p. 46. Anderſon quotes the following diſtich:

"Turkeys, carps, hops, piccarel, and beer,
"Came into England all in one year."

Hiſt. Com. vol. i. p. 354.

[64] Northumberland Houſehold Book.

[65] Above 100lb. of ſpices were employed annually in the Northumberland Family. *Northumberland Houſehold Book.*

their

their arrangement, by their ſituation above or below the ſaltceller, which was placed invariably in the middle of the table, and the uſher was carefully inſtructed to diſplace ſuch as might ſeat themſelves unmannerly above their betters. The chief ſervants attended always above the ſaltceller, beneath which the table was probably crowded with poor dependents, whom the gueſts deſpiſed, and the ſervants neglected. The ſervants were marſhalled, and the diſhes ſerved, by orders iſſued aloud from the uſher [66]; and at table none preſumed to taſte of the diſhes till they were drawn ſucceſſively upwards to the principal perſonage, from whom they deſcended again to the reſt of the company [67]. Churchmen affected peculiar ceremony, and the abbot of St. Alban's dined with greater ſtate than the nobility themſelves. His table was elevated fifteen ſteps above the hall, and in ſerving his dinner, the monks, at every fifth ſtep, performed a hymn. He dined alone at the middle of his table, to the ends of which gueſts of diſtinguiſhed rank were admitted; and the monks, after their attendance on the abbot was over, ſat down to tables at the ſides of the hall, and were ſerved with equal reſpect by the novices [68]. At Wolſey's entertainment of the French ambaſſadors, the company were ſummoned by trumpet to ſupper, and the courſes were announced by a prelude of muſic.

[66] Vid. Notes in the Northumberland Houſehold Book. This mode of living was retained by ſome great families till the middle of the laſt century. Ibid. [67] Hollingſhed, 1166.

[68] Antiq. Repert. vol. iii. p. 61.

The

The ſecond courſe contained upwards of an hundred devices or ſubtilties; caſtles, churches, animals, warriors juſting on foot and on horſeback; others dancing with ladies; "all as well counterfeited," ſays the hiſtorian, "as the painter "ſhould have painted on a cloth or wall[69]." Such entertainments were not of a ſhort duration; the dinner hour was eleven in the forenoon, the ſupper ſix in the evening; but the dinner was often prolonged till ſupper, and that protracted till late at night[70]. Breakfaſt ſeems to have been a ſolitary meal, not univerſal, but, like the collation after ſupper, confined to a few in their private apartments[71]. But it was not probably an unſubſtantial meal; and the collation, the ſlighteſt repaſt of the age, conſiſted often of brawn, jellies, ſweetmeats, ale, brandy, and ſpiced wines[72].

In Scotland. The diet of the Scots was worſe, and more penurious than that of the Engliſh. The peaſants ſubſiſted chiefly on oatmeal and cabbages, for animal food was ſparingly uſed, even at the tables of ſubſtantial gentlemen. An Engliſh traveller, who experienced the hoſpitality of a Scottiſh knight, deſcribes the table as furniſhed with large platters of porridge, in each of which was a ſmall piece of ſodden beef, and remarks, that the ſervants entered

[69] Stowe, p. 535. Cavendiſh.

[70] Warton's Hiſt. Poet. vol. iii. p. 343. n. Antiq. Rep. p. 154. 186. Latimer, 108.

[71] Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 150. Hollingſhed, 170.

[72] Vid. The Articles of a Collation enumerated in Squire Meldrum, a Scottiſh Poem, by Sir David Lindſay of the Mount.

tered in their blue caps without uncovering, and, inſtead of attending, ſeated themſelves with their maſter at table. *His* meſs was better however than theirs, a boiled pullet with prunes in the broth; but his gueſt obſerved, "no art of cookery, "or furniture of houſehold ſtuff, but rather rude "neglect of both [73]." Forks are a recent invention, and in England the table was only ſupplied with knives; but in Scotland every gentleman produced from his girdle a knife, and cut the meat into morſels for himſelf and the women; a practice that firſt intermixed the ladies and gentlemen alternately at table. The uſe of the fingers in eating required a ſcrupulous attention to cleanlineſs, and ablution was cuſtomary, at leaſt at court, both before and after meals [74]. But the court and the nobility emulated the French in their manners, and adopted probably their refinements in diet. The Scottiſh reader will obſerve, that the knights' dinner was compoſed of two coarſe diſhes peculiar to Scotland [75]; but others of an exquiſite delicacy were probably derived from the French, and retained, with little alteration, by a nation otherwiſe ignorant of the culinary arts. The Scots, though aſſimilating faſt to the Engliſh, ſtill reſemble the French in their tables.

[73] Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 155. Moryſon's journey into Scotland was in 1598; but his landlord ſeems to have retained the manners of the former age.

[74] Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 283.

[75] The one was, ſalt meat and oatmeal boiled together; the other, a fowl boiled with leeks and prunes—both national diſhes.

Ale

Liquors. Ale and Gaſcony wines were the principal liquors; but mead, cyder, and perry, were not uncommon. Hops were ſtill ſcarce, and ſeldom employed in ale, which was brewed therefore in ſmall quantities, to be drank while new. At the King's table ale was prohibited as unfit for uſe till five days old [76]. The wines, whatever was their quality, were certainly ſuperior to our preſent harſh and aſtringent port; yet Eraſmus complains repeatedly that good wine was unknown in England. His frail and ſickly conſtitution required wine of a peculiar age and quality; and it is probable that his poverty deterred him from procuring the beſt [77]. The wine was ſtill circulated in a large cup, from which the company drank alternately [78]. The Engliſh were ſober, the Scotch intemperate; they are accuſed at leaſt by their own hiſtorians of exceſſive drinking; an imputation long attached to their national character [79].

Diverſions. Martial diverſions have been already deſcribed, and the ſports of the field are, in different ages, purſued with an uniformity almoſt permanent. In England hunting has ever been a favourite diverſion, and hawking has only been ſuperſeded by the fuſil; but it was ſtill practiſed with unabating ardour, and cultivated ſcientifically as a liberal art. Treatiſes were compoſed on the diet and diſcipline proper for the falcon; the genus was diſcriminated like ſocial life, and a ſpecies appropriated to every intermediate rank, from an emperor down to a

[76] Strutt, vol. iii. p. 72. 108. [77] Epiſt. 124. 144.
[78] Epiſt. 447. [79] Boethius, p. 15. Moryſon, 156.

knave

knave or peaſant; nor were gentlemen more diſtinguiſhed by the blazoning of heraldry, than by the particular hawks they were entitled to carry [80]. The long bow was alſo employed in fowling, a ſport in which much dexterity was requiſite; but archery was even a female amuſement; and it is recorded that Margaret, on her journey to Scotland, killed a buck with an arrow in Alnwick Park [81]. The preſervation of the feathered game was enforced in the preſent age by a ſtatute, the firſt that was enacted of thoſe laws which have ſince accumulated into a code of oppreſſion [82].

Hunting.

The Scottiſh monarchs hunted in the Highlands, ſometimes in a ſtyle of eaſtern magnificence. For the reception of James V., the queen his mother, and the pope's ambaſſador, the earl of Atholl conſtructed a palace or bower of green timber, interwoven with boughs, moted around, and provided with turrets, portcullice, and drawbridge, and furniſhed within with whatever was ſuitable for a royal abode. The hunting continued for three days, during which, independent of roes, wolves, and foxes, ſix hundred deer were captured; an incredible number, unleſs we ſuppoſe that a large diſtrict was ſurrounded, and the game driven into a narrow circle to be ſlain, without fatigue, by the king and his retinue. On their departure the earl ſet fire to the palace, an honour that excited the ambaſſador's ſurpriſe; but the king informed him that it was cuſtomary with Highlanders to burn

[80] Strutt, vol. iii. p. 124.
[81] Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 278.
[82] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 11.

thoſe

thoſe habitations they deſerted. The earl's hoſpitality was eſtimated at the daily expence of a thouſand pounds, at preſent equivalent at leaſt to three thouſand pounds ſterling [83].

Maſques and pageants.

During the preſent period, ſeveral games were invented or practiſed to the diſuſe of archery, for the promotion of which, bowls, quoits, cales, tennis, cards, and dice, were prohibited by the legiſlature as unlawful games [84]. Tennis, however, was a royal paſtime, in which Henry VIII. in his youth delighted much: and a match is recorded between him and the emperor, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Brandenburgh [85]. But the favourite amuſements of court, next to tournaments, were maſques and pageants; the one an Italian diverſion ſubſervient to gallantry, the other a vehicle of groſs adulation. The maſques were deſtitute of character, humour, and dialogue; they were conducted in dumb ſhow, and their merit conſiſted in the groteſque diſguiſes of a part of the company, who entered as ſtrangers to dance with the ladies. The maſque and pageant were often united; for the pageant was properly a piece of machinery, an artificial mountain, a ſhip, a caſtle, in which the maſquers were introduced into the hall, or from which, in ſolemn proceſſions, allegorical perſonages recited pedantic and long panegyrics.

Theatrical amuſements.

Curioſity is naturally excited concerning the preſent ſtate, which is properly the origin of the Engliſh drama; that ſtate which preceded its youthful

[83] Pitſcottie, 146. [84] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. [85] Hall, 98.

youthful vigour, when Shakeſpeare delineated human nature, even in the wildneſs of a fairy creation. But hiſtorical informations are not ſatisfactory, and we can only conclude that the revival of letters diſcredited myſteries, and propagated a purer taſte for dramatick compoſition. We diſcover that a comedy from Plautus was performed at court, where, at Chriſtmas, plays, or rather ſhort interludes, were often repreſented [86]. But the revival of letters introduced the drama into ſchools and colleges; plays were compoſed by profeſſors, and performed by their pupils; nor did grave lawyers, at their annual feſtivals, diſdain the laurels acquired on the ſtage [87]. Theſe, however, were temporary ſtages; but the church is ſtill to be regarded as an eſtabliſhed theatre, licenſed, not indeed by divine permiſſion, for the gratuitous exhibition of religious ſpectacles. Diſpoſſeſſed by the reformers, or interdicted from preaching by the king's ſupremacy, the popiſh clergy ſeceded to ſecular ſtages, and endeavoured to diſcredit the goſpellers by farces more efficacious and popular than their former ſermons. The reformers retaliated, by converting the myſteries of the church into a ſatirical repreſentation of the corruptions of popery; and repeated ordinances were afterwards neceſſary to ſuppreſs theſe ludicrous polemics of

[86] Hall, p. 3. 67. 256.

[87] Warton's Hiſt. Poet. vol. ii. 366. At Gray's-Inn, during the celebration of Chriſtmas, a play was exhibited by the ſtudents, ſo offenſive to Wolſey, that he impriſoned the author, a ſerjeant Roe, and deprived him of his coif. Hall, 154.

the church and ſtage[88]. In churches the performers were chiefly the choriſters; at court they were probably minſtrels, of whom a company followed queen Margaret from England, and exhibited ſeveral plays or myſteries at the Scottiſh court[89]. The minſtrels, who diſappeared under Henry VIII. were probably converted, by the prevalence of theatrical amuſements, into itinerant players; in the ſucceeding reign, an eſtabliſhed and apparently a numerous profeſſion[90].

Bear-baiting.

A more ignoble, perhaps a more popular ſpectacle, conſiſted of bears; "of which," ſays Eraſmus, "many herds are maintained in Britain, for "the purpoſe of dancing." Bear-baiting was a favourite diverſion, exhibited as a ſuitable amuſement for a princeſs[91].

Domeſtic diverſions.

The winter ſolſtice, when the ſun regains his northern direction, was celebrated by our remote and idolatrous anceſtors; and Chriſtianity, unable to ſuppreſs the feſtival, transferred it under the ſame name to a different day. At Chriſtmas, or the feaſt of *Yule*[92], peculiar diſhes have been always employed, and every domeſtic diverſion

[88] Warton, vol. iii. p. 198. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. vol. i. p. 318.

[89] Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 299. 300. Twenty-pence was the eſtabliſhed price of each play exhibited at Chriſtmas in the Northumberland family, and the annual expence of ſuch repreſentations amounted only to 33 ſhillings. *Northumberland Houſehold Book.*

[90] Warton ut ſupra. Pinkerton juſtly remarks that the minſtrel, in the entertainment of queen Elizabeth at Killingworth, is introduced as a character of former times. Scotiſh Ballads, Pref. 74.

[91] Eraſmi *Adagia*, p. 361. Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 299.

[92] Feſtis Iolenſis, as it is tranſlated from the Scandinavian language. Vid. Bailli's Letters ſur les Sciences et ſur l'Atlantide.

adopted

adopted that tends to cheer or to diſſipate the gloom of winter. To regulate, or rather to promote ſuch paſtimes, a lord or abbot of miſrule was created [93]; but of theſe amuſements, perhaps, the moſt rational was the recital of old and romantic tales. The domeſtic amuſements, in a period ſubſequent to the preſent, are thus enumerated: "The "ordinary recreations which we have in winter are "cardes, tables and dice, ſhovel board, cheſſe play, "the philoſophers game, ſmall trunkes, billiards, "muſicke, maſkes, ſinging, dancing, ule-games, "catches, purpoſes, queſtions; merry tales of "errant knights, kings, queens, lovers, lords, "ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, fayries, goblins, "friars, witches, and the reſt [94]." Among theſe amuſements cards began to predominate, to be prohibited by parliament, and licenſed by the king. Gaming became more inordinate and ruinous [95]; but let not cards be therefore depreciated; an happy invention, which, adapted equally to every capacity, removes the invidious diſtinctions of nature, beſtows on fools the pre-eminence of genius, or reduces wit and wiſdom to the level of folly.

93 In Scotland, the Abbot of Unreaſon. Arnot's Hiſt. Edin.

94 Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 271.

95 Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 330. vol. xiv. p. 707. Fitzherbert, 98.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SIXTH BOOK.

N° I.

BIRCH MS. 4160. 5. collated with HARL. MS. 482. fol. 128.

[The original of this, in an old written hand, is in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, 18th Auguſt 1616.]

PERKIN WARBECK's *Proclamation, publiſhed in the Time of his Rebellion in the Beginning of the Reign of* HENRY VII.

RICHARD, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, prince of Wales: To all thoſe that theſe our preſent letters ſhall ſee, hear, or read, and to every of them, greeting. And whereas we, in our tender age, eſcaped, by God's great might, out of the Tower of London, and were ſecretly conveyed over the ſea to other divers countries, there remaining certain years as unknown; the which ſeaſon it happened one Henry, ſon to Edmond Tydder, earl of Richmond created, ſon to Owen Tydder, of low birth, in the county of Wales, to come from France and entered into this our realm, and by ſubtle falſe means to obtain the crown of the ſame unto us of right appertaining. Which Henry is our extreme and mortal enemy; as ſoon as he had knowledge of our being alive, imagined, compaſſed, and

wrought all the ſubtle ways and means he could deviſe to our final deſtruction, inſomuch as he hath not only falſely furmiſed us to be a feigned perſon, giving us nicknames, ſo abuſing your minds, but alſo, to deter and put us from our entry into this our realm, hath offered large ſums of money to corrupt the princes in every land and country; and that we have been retained with and made importune labour to certain of our ſervants about our perſon, ſome of them to murder our perſon, and other to forſake and leave our righteous quarrel, and to depart from our ſervices, as by Sir Robert Clyfford and other was verified and openly proved; and, to bring his curſed and malicious intent aforeſaid to his purpoſe, he hath ſubtilly and by crafty means levied outrageous and importable ſums of money upon the whole body of our realm, to the great hurt and impoveriſhing of the ſame: All which ſubtle and corrupt labours by him made, to our great jeopardy and peril, we have, by God's might, graciouſly eſcaped and over paſſed as well by land as by ſea, and be now with the right high and mighty prince our deareſt couſin the king of Scots; which, without any gift or other thing by him deſired or demanded to the prejudice or hurt of us or our crown or realm, hath full lovingly and kindly retained us, by whoſe aid and ſupportation we, in proper perſon, be now, by God's grace, entered into this our realm of England, where we ſhall ſhew ourſelves openly unto you; alſo confounding our ſaid aforeſaid enemy in all his falſe ſayings, and alſo every man of reaſon and diſcretion may well underſtand that him needed not to have made the foreſaid coſtages and importune labour if we had been ſuch a feigned perſon as he untruly furmiſeth, aſcertaining you how the mind and intent of the foreſaid noble prince or deareſt couſin is, that if that he may find or ſee our ſubjects and natural liege people, according to right and the duty of their allegiance, reſort lovingly unto us with ſuch power as by their puiſſance

ſhall

ſhall move, be able of likelyhood to diſtreſs and ſubdue our enemies, he is fully ſet and determined to return home again quietly with his people into his own land, without doing or ſuffering to be done any hurt or prejudice unto our realm, or to the inhabitants of the ſame. Alſo our great enemy, to fortify his falſe quarrel, hath cauſed divers nobles of this our realm whom he hath ſuſpect and ſtood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered, as our couſin the lord Fitzwater, ſir William Stanley, ſir Robert Chamberlayne, ſir Simon Montford, ſir Robert Radcliffe, William Daubeney, Humphry Stafford, among others, beſides ſuch as have clearly bought their lives; ſome of which nobles are now in the ſanctuary. Alſo he hath long kept and yet keepeth in priſon, our right entirely well-beloved couſin Edward, ſon and heir to our uncle duke of Clarence, and others, withholding from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent they ſhould be of might and power to aid and aſſiſt us at our need, after the duty of their leigeance. He hath alſo married by compulſion, certain of our ſiſters, and alſo the ſiſter of our foreſaid couſin the earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the blood royal, unto certain of his kinſmen and friends of ſimple and low degree; and putting apart all well-diſpoſed nobles, he hath none in favour and truſt about his perſon but biſhop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovell, Oliver King, ſir Charles Somerſet, David Owen, Ryſely, ſir Joſeph Tuberville, Tylere, Robert Litton, Guildeford, Chumley, Emſon, James Hobart, John Cutte, Garthe, Hanſey, Wyot, and ſuch other caitiffs and villains of ſimple birth; which, by ſubtle inventions and putting of the people, have been the principal finders, occaſioners, and counſellors of the miſ-rule and miſchief now reigning in England. Alſo we be credibly informed, that our ſaid enemy, not regarding the wealth and proſperty of this land, but only the ſafeguard and ſurety of his perſon, hath ſent into divers places out of our realm, the foreſaid nobles, and cauſed to

be conveyed from thence to other places the treaſure of this our realm, purpoſing to depart after, in proper perſon, with many other eſtates of the land, being now at his rule and diſpoſition; and if he ſhould be ſo ſuffered to depart, as God defend it ſhould be, to the greateſt hurt, jeopardy, and peril of the whole realm that could be thought or imagined: Wherefore we deſire and pray you, and nevertheleſs charge you and every of you, as ye intend the ſurety of yourſelf, and the commonwealth of our land, your native ground, to put you in your moſt effectual devoirs with all dilligence to the utmoſt of your powers, and ſtop and let his paſſage out of this our realm: aſcertaining you, that what perſon or perſons ſhall fortune to take or diſtreſs him, ſhall have for his or their true acquittal in that behalf after their eſtate and degrees, ſo as the moſt low and ſimpleſt of degree that ſhall happen to take or diſtreſs him, ſhall have for his labour one thouſand pounds in money, and houſes and lands to the yearly value of one hundred marks to him and his heirs for ever. We remembering theſe promiſes, with the great and execrable offence daily committed and done by our foreſaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the liberty and franchiſes of our mother holy church, to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God; beſides the manifold treaſons abominable murders, manſlaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by diſmes, taſks, tollages, benevolences, other unlawful impoſitions and grievous exactions, with many other heinous offences, to the likely deſtruction and deſolation of the whole realm, as God defend, ſhall put ourſelf effectually in our devoir, not as a ſtep-dame, but as the very true mother of the child, languiſhing or ſtanding in peril to redreſs and ſubdue for the foreſaid miſchief and miſrules, and to puniſh the occaſioners and haunters thereof after their deſerts, in example of others. We ſhall alſo by God's grace, and the help and aſſiſtance of the great

lords

lords of our blood, with the council of other ſade perſons of approved policy, prudence, and experience, dreading God, and having tender zeal and affection to indifferent miniſtrations of juſtice and the public weal of the land, peruſe and call to remembrance the good laws and cuſtoms heretofore made by our noble progenitors kings of England, and ſee them put in due and lawful execution, according to the effect and true meaning they were firſt made or ordained for; ſo that by virtue thereof, as well the diſinheriting of rightfull heirs as the injuries and wrongs in anywiſe committed and done unto the ſubjects of our realm, both ſpiritual and temporal, ſhall be duly redreſſed, according to right, law, and good conſcience; and we ſhall ſee that the commodities of our realm be employed to the moſt advantage of the ſameth intercourſe of merchandizes betwixt realm and realm, to be miniſtred and handled as ſhall now be to the commonweal and proſperity of our ſubjects; and all ſuch diſmes, taſks, tollages, benevolences, and lawful impoſitions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearſed, utterly to be foredune and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in ſuch caſes as our noble progenitors, kings of England, have of old time been accuſtomed to have the aid, ſuccour, and help of their ſubjects and true liegemen.

Alſo we will, that all ſuch perſons as have imagined, compaſſed, or wrought privily or apparently ſince the reign of our foreſaid enemy, or before, any thing againſt us, except ſuch as ſince the reign have imagined our death, ſhall have their free pardon for the ſame, of their lives, lands, and goods, ſo that they at this time, according to right and the duty of their allegiances, take our righteous quarrel, and part, and aid, comfort, and ſupport us with their bodys and goods.

And over this we let you wotte, that upon our foreſaid great enemy, his adherents and partakers, with all other ſuch as will take their falſe quarrel, and ſtand in their de-

fence againſt us with their bodys or goods, we ſhall come and enter upon them as their heavy lord, and take and repute them and every of them as our traitors and rebels, and ſee them puniſhed according and upon all our ſubjects, that according to right and the duty of their leigance will aid, ſuccour, and comfort us with their powers, with their lives or goods, or victual our hoſt for ready money; we ſhall come and enter upon them lovingly as their natural liege lord, and ſee they have juſtice to them equally miniſtered upon their cauſes: wherefore we will and deſire you and every of you, that incontinent upon the hearing of this our proclamation, ye, according to the duty of your allegiance, are ready yourſelves in your beſt defenſible array, and give your perſonal attendance upon us where we ſhall then fortune to be; and in your ſo doing ye ſhall find us your right, eſpecial, and ſingular good lord, and ſo to ſee you recompenſed and rewarded as by your ſervice unto us ſhall be deſerved.

N° II.

The Confeſſion read by PERKIN WARBECK *when ſet in the Stocks on a Scaffold at Cheapſide. Extracted from* Grafton, p. 929. Hall, 49.

FIRST, it is to be knowne, That I was borne in the towne of Turney in Flaunders, and my father's name is John Olbeck, which ſayde John Olbeck was comptroller of the ſaid towne of Turney, and my mother's name is Katheryn de Faro; and one of my grandſires upon my father's ſide was named Dirvek Olbeck, which dyed; after whoſe death my grandmother was maryed unto Peter Flamme, that was receaver of the forenamed towne of Turney, and deane of the botemen that rowe upon the water

water or ryver called Leſchelde; and my graundſire upon my mother's ſide was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of Saint John's within the ſame town of Turney; alſo I had an uncle called Maiſter John Stalyn, dwelling in the pariſhe of Saint Pyas within the ſame towne, which had maried my father's ſiſter, whoſe name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelled a certayne ſeaſon; and after I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learn Flemiſhe in a houſe of a couſin of mine, an officer of the ſaid towne, called John Stienbeck, with whome I was the ſpace of halfe a yere; and after that I returned again to Turney, by reaſon of the warres that were in Flaunders; and within a yere followying I was ſent with a marchaunt of the ſaid towne of Turney named Berlo, to the marte of Andwarpe, where I fell ſick, which ſickneſſe continued upon five moneths; and the ſaid Barlo ſent me to borde in a ſkinner's houſe that dwelled beſide the houſe of the Engliſhe nation; and by him I was from thence carried to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the ſigne of the Olde Man, where I abode the ſpace of two moneths; and after this the ſayd Barlo ſent me with a marchant of Middelborough to ſervice for to learne the language, whoſe name was John Strewe, with whom I dwelled from Chriſtmas til Eaſter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the company of ſir Edward Bramptone's wyfe, in a ſhip which was called the Quene's ſhip; and when I was come thether, then I was put in ſervice to a knight that dwelled in Luſhborne, whiche was called Peter Wars de Cogna, wyth whome I dwelled an whole yere, whiche ſayde knight had but one eye; and becauſe I deſyred to ſee other countries, I toke licence of him, and then I put myſelfe in ſervice with a Briton, called Pregent Meno, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arrived in the towne of Corke; they of the towne, becauſe I was arayed with ſome clothes of ſilke of my ſayde maiſter's, came unto me and threaped upon

mee that I ſhould be the duke of Clarence ſonne that was before time at Duellin; and foraſhmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the holy Evangeliſts and the croſſe by the maïor of the towne, which was called John le Mellen, and there in the preſence of him and other I tooke my othe as the truthe was, that I was not the forſayde duke's ſonne, nor nonne of his blood: and after this came unto me an Engliſhman, whoſe name was Stephen Poytron, with one John Water, and layde to me in ſwearyng great othes, that they knew well that I was king Richarde's baſtard ſonne; to whom I anſwered with like othes, that I was not; and then they adviſed me not to be afearde, but that I ſhould take it upon me boldly, and if I would ſo do, they would ayde and aſſiſt me with all their power againſt the king of England, and not only they, but they were aſſured well that the erles of Deſmond and Kildare ſhould do the ſame; for they forced not what parte they tooke, ſo that they might be revenged upon the king of England, and ſo againſt my will made me to learn Engliſhe, and taught me what I ſhould do and ſay; and after this they called me Duke of Yorke, ſecond ſonne of king Edward the fourth, becauſe king Richarde's baſtard ſonne was in the handes of the king of England; and upon this the ſayde John Water, Stephen Poytron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with many other, as the forſayde erles, entered into this falſe quarrell: and within a ſhort time after the French king ſent an ambaſſador into Ireland, whoſe name was Loyte Lucas, and mayſter Stephyn Fryam, to advertiſe me to come into Fraunce; and thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flaunders, and from Flaunders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and ſo into England.

N° III.

Diſſertation on the Character of PERKIN WARBECK, *and on the Crimes imputed to* Richard *the Third.*

THIS Appendix the author lived not to execute; and it is much to be regretted, that no memorial remains of his opinion on a ſubject ſo long controverted, and ſtill ſo obſcure. The character of Richard, and the tranſactions during his troubled reign, are inſeparable from the controverſy concerning Warbeck; and of that controverſy, a particular examination is conſidered as requiſite to complete this volume. Hiſtorical diſſertation admits of minuter reſearch, and more critical diſquiſition than general hiſtory; nor am I reſponſible if, in ſome particulars, theſe reſearches correſpond not entirely with the text of our author.

The murder of Richard's nephews is repreſented by moſt hiſtorians as the neceſſary ſequel of his former crimes. He meditated, it is ſaid, at an early period, his acceſſion to the throne, and for that purpoſe promoted the execution of Clarence, his brother, and procured from parliament the attainder of his iſſue. On the death of Edward IV. he intercepted the perſon of the young king, and impriſoned his kinſmen, conducted him with pomp and ſeeming reſpect to the Tower, obtained or extorted from the privy council the office of protector, profeſſed in public, and with repeated oaths, his allegiance to his nephew, but concerted ſecretly to deſpoil him of his crown. Alike regardleſs of the ties of friendſhip, of oaths, and of bloodſhed, he executed, without trial, Haſtings his friend, Gray, Rivers, Vaughan, and others, from whom he apprehended obſtruction to his ſchemes; and then circulated abſurd reports, to perſuade the people that his nephews were baſtards, and himſelf the legitimate

legitimate heir of the crown. It was inſinuated, that Richard alone was legitimate, as his brothers had ſprung from their mother's illicit amours, and aſſerted, that Edward's previous marriage with Elizabeth Lucy, rendered his connexion with the queen adulterous, and their iſſue ſpurious. The laſt topic was employed by Buckingham, who harangued the citizens on Richard's pretenſions; and obtaining a few faint acclamations, he proceeded next day, with the mayor and aldermen, to tender the crown to Richard, who, after much affected importunity, conſented to reign. Such an uſurpation was to be ſecured by the murder of the young princes; and is it credible that Richard, the perjured Richard, whoſe ſteps to the throne were marked with blood, would abſtain from the devoted lives of his nephews? Their removal was requiſite for his ſecurity; for conſpiracies were forming to reſtore them to liberty, and reinſtate them in their rights. That they were removed by murders is demonſtrated by their ſudden diſappearance, and the ſubſequent prevailing report of their death; by Richard's inability to produce them in order to diſpel ſuch rumours; by his propoſed alliance with their ſiſter Elizabeth, whoſe right to the crown was only valid in the event of their death; and by the united teſtimony of the principal Yorkiſts, who, aſſured that the princes were dead, joined the Lancaſtrians to dethrone the tyrant. The particulars of the murder were afterwards inveſtigated, authenticated by the confeſſion of the ſurviving aſſaſſins, and in a ſubſequent age corroborated by the accidental diſcovery of the bodies. Warbeck, who perſonated the younger brother, was therefore an impoſtor. His ſtory is incredible; thoſe who diſpatched his brother ſpared him from compaſſion, and connived at his eſcape. In that event, inſtead of conſuming his early youth as an obſcure wanderer, he muſt have ſpeedily re-appeared in the Netherlands, at his aunt the ducheſs of Burgundy's court; and the partiſans of

of York muſt have been ſoon appriſed of his miraculous eſcape. But he appeared not till nine years afterwards, not till the ſupport which the duchefs had given to another impoſtor, diſcloſed her ignorance of his eſcape, and her readineſs to concur in every ſimilar impoſture, diſtreſſing to Henry. And the evidence, apparently ſo complete, is fortified and rendered irreſiſtible by Warbeck's voluntary confeſſion at the gibbet, when he had nothing to expect from Henry's clemency, and nothing farther to apprehend from his power.

The preceding is certainly a plauſible narrative, if not entirely conſiſtent with hiſtorical truth. Nor is its truth conteſted, unleſs by a few, whoſe opinion, however, the reſult of judicious and accurate inquiries, is entitled to peculiar reſpect and attention[1]. The controverſy between them reſolves into four general diviſions, or portions, I. The crimes attributed to Richard's youth; II. His uſurpation or acquiſition of the crown; III. The fate of his nephews; and IV. The pretenſions and character of Perkin Warbeck. But it is neceſſary, previous to ſuch inquiries, to aſcertain the credit due to original authorities, and theſe have been properly reduced to the unknown continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland Abbey, to Rous, Fabian, and Sir Thomas More. The three firſt were contemporary with Richard, the laſt with Warbeck; but Fabian was a wretched annaliſt, more attentive to the ſucceſſion of mayors and ſheriffs, than to the tranſactions of princes; and Rous, a recluſe prieſt, ſeems to have written without information, but with all the bigotry and prejudice of the Lancaſtrian party. The Chronicle of Croyland is leſs partial; the author is favourable to Edward's memory, and expreſſes ſome regret at the indignities offered to Richard's body. Sir Thomas More is a copious hiſtorian, and his narrative of Richard's uſurpa-

[1] With the reſpected names of Carte and Walpole, may I inſcribe that of the late Dr. Henry?

tion,

tion, and the murder of his nephews, has been tranſcribed in every ſubſequent Chronicle, adopted by Polydore Virgil, and followed almoſt implicitly by modern hiſtorians. To theſe Bacon has been added as an original authority; a character to which Buck is equally entitled, as both had acceſs to original papers that are now deſtroyed. But in theſe inquiries, it is chiefly neceſſary to guard againſt the impoſing authority of great names.

I. An impartial hiſtorian muſt exculpate Richard of the crimes imputed to his early youth[2], the murder of Henry VI. of his ſon prince Edward, and perhaps of Clarence. According to the Croyland Chronicle, prince Edward, the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Devonſhire, and others, were ſlain at the battle of Tewkeſbury, or afterwards, *ultricibus quorundam manibus*; according to Fabian, Edward, on receiving a blow from the king, was diſpatched by his ſervants; but in the next century, hiſtoriaſts, improving on the ſtory, devolved this menial office on Clarence, Dorſet, Haſtings, and Glouceſter[3]. The death of Henry happened, according to Fabian, on the eve of Aſcenſion, the night after king Edward's triumphal arrival in London; a concurrence of circumſtances ſufficient to afford juſt ſuſpicion of a violent death. It was variouſly related, ſays Fabian; but the prevailing report was, that Richard ſtabbed him. The Croyland Chronicle is leſs explicit: *Taceo hoc temporum interſtitio, inventum eſſe corpus regis Henrici, in turrim Londiniarum exanime; parcat Deus, et ſpatium pœnitentiæ ei donet, quicunque tam ſacrilegas manus in Chriſtum Domini, auſus eſt immittere. Unde agens tyranni*

[2] Richard, who periſhed prematurely at the age of thirty-two, was a youth of eighteen at the battle of Tewkeſbury. It is not likely that ſuch a boy would be employed to aſſaſſinate Henry and his ſon.

[3] Hall, Grafton, Hollingſhed. Stowe, a more judicious author, adheres ſtrictly to Fabian. Buck quotes an ancient MS. Chronicle in Sir Robert Cotton's cuſtody, to prove that Richard, though preſent, drew not his ſword. Buck apud Kennet. See Chron. Croyl. p. 555.

patienſque

patienſque glorioſi martyris, titulum mereatur [4]. The narrative indicates the popular rumour, that the martyr periſhed by the tyrant's (probably Richard's) hands; but we diſcover from Hollingſhed that the death of Henry, as recorded in certain contemporary writers, was occaſioned by extreme grief for the loſs of his ſon, his own diſaſters, and the ruin of his friends [5]. This, though aſſerted by writers, "favouring altogether," ſays Hollingſhed, "the "houſe of York," is the more probable, as Richard ſeems to have entertained too much reſpect for the good old king, to be the unneceſſary and officious inſtrument of his death. After his acceſſion, he removed the body of Henry from Chertſey, and interred it with royal ſolemnity at Windſor [6]; a circumſtance imputable only to a veneration either for the illuſtrious deſcent, or the piety of a monarch, who, becauſe he was a fool, was reputed a ſaint. The pretended rumour is contradicted therefore, both by contemporary evidence, and a fair interpretation of Richard's conduct, who would not, after an interval of twelve years, revive, by any indiſcreet hypocriſy, a rumour ſo prejudicial to his own reputation. But the following remarkable information is contained in a late edition of Shakeſpeare: "It has been obſerved to me by Mr. Edder-"ton, that it appears on the face of the public accounts "allowed in the Exchequer for the maintenance of Hen-"ry VI. and his numerous attendants in the Tower, "that he lived to the twelfth of June, which was twenty-"two days after the time aſſigned for his pretended aſſaſ-"ſination; was expoſed to public view at St. Paul's for "ſome days, and interred at Chertſey with much ſolem-"nity, and at no inconſiderable expence [7]." If the fact be ſuch, and I ſee no reaſon to queſtion the authority, what becomes of our ancient chroniclers? I will not ſpeak of

4 Chron. Croyl. p. 556.
5 Hollingſhed, vol. ii. p. 690.
6 Rous, p. 217. Stowe, 424.
7 Malone's Shakeſpeare, vol. xi. p. 653.

their

their accuracy; but what reliance can be placed in their truth? If Henry died not on the night of Edward's triumphal entry, there is no foundation for the ſuſpicion of violence; and we muſt conclude that Fabian and the monk of Croyland, writing at a diſtant period, (Fabian died in 1512,) forgot the regular ſucceſſion of events, and adopted a ſubſequent vain ſurmiſe, in order to render their ſaint a martyr[8]. Theſe crimes originated, therefore, from the ſame Lancaſtrian prejudices that accuſed Richard of murdering his wife, whoſe death was occaſioned by a lingering malady, and accelerated as the monk of Croyland conjectures and inſinuates, not by poiſon, but her huſband's neglect[9].

The execution of Clarence is aſcribed, by our older hiſtorians, to the queen's inſtigation, whoſe interceſſion might have certainly ſaved him, and whoſe brother Rivers was enriched by his forfeiture. But I cannot diſcover that Richard was a gainer, that he obtained a larger portion of his wife's inheritance[10]. The queen's relations were ambitious and inſolent; Clarence, impatient, impetuous and haughty; and, as they domineered at court, his imprudent oppoſition, and perhaps the temptation of a rich confiſcation, provoked his fate. Their procedure was conformable to the court intrigues of the period; they began by accuſing and convicting his domeſtics and friends, in order to impel him to ſome deſperate counſels.

[8] Hollingſhed, to render the murder indiſputable, aſſerts that the wounds bled afreſh at St. Paul's.

[9] Chron. Croyl. p. 572.

[10] Rymer Fœd. vol. xii p. 95. The hypocritical language of this donation is curious, and ſeems to faſten the murder indiſputably on Rivers. "Sciatis quod nos, inclitæ memoriæ noſtræ reducentes "de grandibus injuriis, gravaminibuſque offenſis, non ſolum cariſſi-"mo conſanguineo noſtro *Antonio comiti Ryvers*, verum etiam nobilibus "parentibus ſuis, per *Georgium nuper ducem Clarenciæ* indigne perpetratis, "et quod *idem dux*, die quo obiit et antea, voluit et intendebat quod "*prædictus comes* omnino recompenſaretur." The grant inſinuates that Clarence, at his death, made a nuncupative will in Rivers' favour; a proof that his conduct required exculpation.

Buckingham,

Buckingham, connected them with the queen's party by his marriage with her ſiſter, was created high-ſteward to pronounce the ſentence; and Clarence's fate is the counterpart of Humphrey duke of Glouceſter's, who periſhed in the former reign, by the machinations of queen Margaret, and Suffolk her minion. Richard, who had alſo quarrelled with the queen's relations, acted with more circumſpection than Clarence; yet the ſame influence that ruined his brother might have been directed afterwards againſt himſelf: nor is it probable that he would weaken his own ſecurity by conniving indirectly at the deſtruction of Clarence. The queen's influence was formidable, and exerted for the worſt purpoſes, to aggrandiſe her family by the depreſſion or ruin of the principal nobility. Haſtings once was committed to the Tower, and his life endangered by the accuſation of Rivers[11]; and Richard, from the ambitious views of the queen and her kindred, and their influence during an unprincipled reign, had certainly ſome reaſon to apprehend that Clarence's fate might extend to himſelf.

II. Theſe tranſactions then, give us no indications of Richard's character, his ambition, his cunning, or prediſpoſition to cruelty. The ſucceeding events are more deciſive: the young king intercepted; Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan apprehended, and with Haſtings executed, without even the formality of a trial. Glouceſter, as firſt prince of the blood, was conſtitutionally protector; but the queen had certainly projected meaſures for retaining her influence during the minority, and ſecuring the regency to herſelf or her brother. She had ordered Rivers to raiſe an army; a meaſure calculated not for eſcorting the king, but for preſerving to themſelves the poſſeſſion of his perſon, intimidating their enemies, and uſurping the

[11] Sir Thomas More.

government. When the ſcheme was detected and counteracted in council, the eſcort was limited to two thouſand men; and whether theſe troops were brought forward, ſome artifice ſeems to have been employed at Nottingham in detaching Gray, Rivers, and Vaughan from the king's attendants. There they were arreſted; and the hints caſually furniſhed by hiſtorians, of Dorſet's entering the Tower, removing the treaſures of the late king, and employing them partly in preparing a fleet, demonſtrate that the Grays were accuſed with reaſon, of conſpiring to ſeize the adminiſtration, by retaining the perſon of the young king [12]. So far Glouceſter is juſtifiable, as he only anticipated thoſe whoſe ambition threatened diſturbance to the ſtate. But the ſubſequent execution of theſe noblemen, and of Haſtings, Richard's friend and confederate, muſt be aſcribed to a premeditated ſcheme of uſurpation. The protector aſpired to the crown, and ſecured it by the previous removal of every obſtacle; and in theſe ſanguinary tranſactions we diſcover the firſt certain indications of his ambitious deſigns.

Yet our progreſs is arreſted by an unexpected difficulty—Edward's marriage with lady Eleanor Butler,—a fact better authenicated than hiſtorians imagine. The Croyland Chronicle, and a paſſage (a vague paſſage) in the Memoirs of Commines, were regarded as the only evidence, till the rolls of Richard's parliament were diſcovered and publiſhed. Yet theſe authorities, ſeparately, are not ſatisfactory: the marriage is mentioned by Commines and the monk of Croyland, as a pretext adopted to juſtify Richard's uſurpation; nor are the rolls of parliament of more authority, than any atteſtation of a falſehood that might be extorted then from a ſervile, or obtained to-day from a venal parliament. But there is another authority leſs controvertible, the reſpected authority of ſir Thomas More.

[12] Sir Thomas More. Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts.

His hiſtory is a highly coloured, though unfiniſhed performance, publiſhed originally in Engliſh, afterwards in Latin, the language in which it was probably firſt compoſed. The Engliſh copy is inſerted in Hall, Graſton, Stowe, and Hollingſhed; but a licentious and faulty paraphraſe by Strype or Kennet, has, with moſt authors, ſuperſeded the original [13]. The hiſtory from its very commencement is partial; it expatiates on Richard's perſonal deformity and monſtrous birth, his perverſeneſs and pravity *while ſtill in the womb*; aſcribes the murder of Henry to his dagger, the death of Clarence to his intrigues and ambition; and proceeds to relate ſuch myſterious, and ſecret tranſactions, as the death of the actors precluded from tranſpiring. At the death of Haſtings, in explaining the pretext employed by Richard for baſtardiſing his nephews, the hiſtorian pauſes, ſuſpends his narration; reverts to the period of Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Gray, and that for the expreſs purpoſe of demonſtrating that his previous marriage, or precontract with another, was an obſolete calumny already refuted. He informs us that the Ducheſs of York, diſapproved of the propoſed connexion with Elizabeth Gray, endeavoured to diſſuade her ſon from the marriage. "The king was inflexible; "and his mother" (I tranſlate from the Latin) "incenſed "at his diſobedience, concerted other meaſures for im- "peding the match. Elizabeth Lucy, a lady of noble "birth and exquiſite beauty, had been debauched by "Edward. On the approach of the nuptials, when the "banns were publiſhed, the ducheſs his mother, as if to "abſolve her conſcience, objected with tears, that her "ſon was already eſpouſed to Elizabeth Lucy, their faith

[13] With Hume, it certainly ſuperſeded the original, when he aſſerted that More mentioned lady Butler's as well as Elizabeth Lucy's marriage, and treated them both lightly as rumours. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 455. note M. Lady Butler's name is not once mentioned by More; but her ſtory is inſerted in Kennet's Verſion.

" plighted, and their nuptials conſummated. The mar-
" riage was therefore interrupted, either by the prieſt's
" refuſal, or the king's reluctance to celebrate the rites,
" till an aſperſion, to which his mother's ſcruples had
" contributed weight and authority, was examined and
" diſproved. Elizabeth Lucy, though inſtructed ſecretly,
" and inſpired with ambitious views by the ducheſs, con-
" feſſed, when interrogated on oath, that whatever were
" her expectations, no matrimonial obligation had been
" contracted by Edward. Thus the pretended marriage
" was detected, and its falſehood publiſhed, previous to
" the king's marriage with Elizabeth Gray. Theſe cir-
" cumſtances," the hiſtorian concludes, " are detailed
" perhaps with too much prolixity; but it is neceſſary to
" know that the ſole objection which the Protector diſ-
" covered againſt Edward's marriage was a calumny long
" exploded and antiquated."

This paſſage, diveſted of its rhetoric, diſcloſes an important hiſtorical fact—that Edward's marriage with lady Gray was interrupted for a time by his own mother; that ſhe appeared in church when the banns were publiſhed, and with tears prohibited the celebration of the marriage, as her ſon was already contracted to another. Her allegation, the more authoritative as it proceeds from a mother, is diſproved by Elizabeth Lucy's confeſſion: the hiſtorian dwells on this as a confutation of the calumny. Surely were theſe circumſtances admitted as truth, when a mother, terrified at the violation of a ſacramental obligation, (marriage then was eſteemed a ſcrament,) prohibits her ſon's nuptials, a reaſonable ſuſpicion may be entertained that her objection was not without foundation, that a monarch, impetuous in his paſſions, and arbitrary like Edward, might either extort or fabricate the pretended confeſſion.

But in this pretended confeſſion there is no truth. The pretext of Richard's uſurpation was his brother's precontract,

tract, not with Lucy, but with lady Eleanor Butler. Shaw therefore, if inſtructed by the Protector, could not preach on Edward's precontract with Elizabeth Lucy; nor could Buckingham adopt ſuch an injudicious topic in haranguing the citizens. Richard could not reſort to an objection abſolutely preclusive of his own pretenſions; for Elizabeth Lucy had a ſon by Edward, Arthur Plantagenet, afterwards lord Liſle, whoſe legitimacy muſt have been recogniſed with his mother's marriage, and his title eſtabliſhed to the crown itſelf. The fact is indiſputable, that Richard's nephews were excluded as ſpurious, on account of their father's marriage with Eleanor Butler. "Oſten- "debatur in quodam rotulo pergameni, quod filii regis "Edwardi erant baſtardi, ſupponendo illum præcontrax- "iſſe cum quadam Alienora Boteler, antequam reginam "Elizabeth duxiſſet uxorem." Cron. Croyl.—"Edward "was and ſtood married, and troth plight to one dame "Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of Shrewſbury, with "whom the ſaid king Edward had made a precontract of "matrimony long time before he made the pretended "marriage with Elizabeth Gray." Roli of Parliament.—What then does More's information amount to? He informs us that the objection was not deviſed by Richard, but that it had been agitated previous even to Edward's marriage. Does he diſprove it? He ſubſtitutes a different female, and on her confeſſion, which muſt be fictitious, argues againſt the exiſtence of the marriage. The concluſion is inevitable, that the king's marriage with Eleanor Butler ſtands authenticated by her mother's atteſtation, and refuted by no contradictory evidence.

I venerate too much the character of ſir Thomas More, not to attribute, if poſſible, his miſtakes to ignorance; but I am afraid that his narrative diſcovers in the ſequel, an intended and artful deviation from the truth. Fabian informs us, that Shaw preached on Sunday, to the diſparagement of Edward's children, and *abucion* of the audi-

ence; that on Tueſday, Buckingham harangued the citizens aſſembled in Guildhall; and that Richard, aſſuming on Thurſday the regal dignity, was conducted to Weſtminſter and inſtalled as king. Fabian in theſe particulars could not be miſtaken, though he knew not, or neglected to mention a public inſtrument produced on Thurſday at Barnard's caſtle, conceived in the name of the lords and commons, containing a recital of Richard's titles, and a ſupplication for his immediate aſſumption of the crown. This, the Croyland Chronicle aſſures us, was the *pretext* and *colour* employed to juſtify the Protector's uſurpation; but ſir Thomas More, in oppoſition to every hiſtorical evidence, has deviſed a different pretext and colour. Buckingham, and the lords of his party, attended by the mayor and aldermen and a multitude of citizens, proceeded on Wedneſday to the Protector's reſidence, who, affecting to miſtruſt their intentions, appeared at a gallery to receive their addreſs. Buckingham announced the deſire of the people; Richard, after much declamatory dialogue, is perſuaded to reign; and the hiſtorian concludes with ſome facetious and pertinent remarks on this ſcenic exhibition. Theſe circumſtances are certainly poſſible, but they could not have eſcaped the obſervation of Fabian. A citizen and a ſpectator apparently of every public ſolemnity, he could not have failed to mention the convocation of the citizens in conſequence of Buckingham's requeſt on Tueſday, their proceſſion to Barnard's caſtle, and their interview with the Protector; tranſactions of far more pomp and importance than Shaw's ſermon at Paul's croſs, or Buckingham's ſpeech at Guildhall. The events of Sunday, of Tueſday, and of Thurſday, are in Fabian recorded with care; the tranſactions of Wedneſday are repreſented by More as the neceſſary ſequel of thoſe on Tueſday, as occaſioned by the acclamations of a few apprentices, and Buckingham's public requeſt to the citizens to attend him on the morrow. The ſilence both of Fabian and the monk

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of Croyland, diſproves theſe incidents, and demonſtrates, that they were interpolated by More to ſupply the unoccupied interval between Buckingham's harangue on Tueſday, and the ſupplication preſented to Richard on Thurſday. His intention is obvious; to ſuppreſs the real pretext or colour employed to vindicate Richard's acceſſion, and for that purpoſe he diverts our attention to a different day, and ſubſtitutes a different, and a falſe pretext. The ſupplication, ſtill engroſſed in the rolls of parliament, eſtabliſhes Richard's title on Edward's prior marriage with Eleanor Butler, and the conſequent illegitimacy of his offspring by Elizabeth Gray. More, inſtead of refuting, evades the plea, ſubſtitutes Lucy, to conceal the marriage of Eleanor Butler, and creates a ſeries of fictitious tranſactions, to ſuppreſs the knowledge of Richard's titles, and obſcure the proximate cauſe of his acceſſion to the throne. Lucy, preferred it ſeems as a daughter by the ducheſs of York, was, according to More, *nec ignobilis, quem forte virginem rex corrupet.* She was the daughter of one Wiat, the wife of one Lucy, obſcure perſons; and if More was ignorant of her marriage with the latter, (a circumſtance preſuſive of her contract with Edward,) he muſt have been ſenſible that neither the Wiats nor the Lucys were then ennobled. His inadvertence has retained a circumſtance hiſtorically certain. Lord Butler's widow was of noble birth; her father was the earl of Shrewſbury, her mother the former duke of Buckingham's daughter, and her marriage with Edward is ſtill atteſted by more than common hiſtorical evidence. Had the hiſtorian maintained, inſtead of controverting, the exiſtence of the marriage, our aſſurance would have depended on his veracity; but his attempt to confute it by the ſuppreſſion of certain circumſtances, and the ſubſtitution of others, demonſtrates that the fact was inconteſtable, too ſtrong to be fairly ſtated, and too ſtubborn to be openly reſiſted. His extreme anxiety, his ſolicitude to convince us that the

accuſation was calumnious, betrays his knowledge and conviction of its truth. He had explored it to the ſource, traced it backward to Richard's mother, to the diſtant period of Edward's marriage. He aſſures us that it was not invented by Richard, and explains it at length, *ut melius cognoſcatur quam falſam olim revictam, rejectamque calumniam pretexuit. Ne ignoraretur protector, Edwardi filiis natalium vitium objecturus, nihil reperiſſe quod illius matrimonio objicerit, præter excuſſam olim et antiquatam calumniam.* Yet this antiquated calumny, ſo long and ſo induſtriouſly exploded, cannot bear a relation without the moſt material deviation from truth. His very ſolicitude to explain, his induſtrious reſearches to diſcover, the truth, are evidence againſt him. He had diſcovered its origin at Edward's marriage (1463), and muſt have underſtood its application at Richard's acceſſion in 1483. In every particular he ſuppreſſes the truth, and but for a caſual diſcovery in the ſequel of his hiſtory, compared with a paſſage in the Memoirs of Commines, the world would have ſtill been ignorant, that lady Butler's marriage with Edward was examined in council, that it was ſupported by the depoſitions of different witneſſes, and eſtabliſhed by the teſtimony of Stillington the biſhop, who performed the ceremony.

An hiſtorian, with whoſe philoſophical genius the minute details of hiſtory were ſcarcely compatible, has remarked, that the ſtatute declaring the illegitimacy of Edward's children, appeared, on Henry's acceſſion and marriage with Elizabeth, too deſpicable to be reverſed by parliament[14]. Henry's policy in ſuppreſſing that ſtatute, affords additional proof of Edward's marriage with Eleanor Butler, and an adequate ſolution of More's intentional perverſion of the fact. The Year Book informs us, that the judges, aſſembled by Henry to conſult together on the

[14] Hume's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 457. note M.

repeal

repeal of the ſtatute propoſed, that it ſhould be "taken "off the rolls, annulled, cancelled, deſtroyed, and burnt," without being rehearſed, its contents divulged, or more than a few words of the preamble recited. The reaſon aſſigned was, that the ſtatute, becauſe it was "falſe, "ſhameful, and ſeditious, ought to be put in perpetual "oblivion; for if any part of the ſpecialty of the matter "had been rehearſed, then had it remained in remem-"brance always." The ſtatute would have been deſtroyed without the ceremony of being reverſed, but an act was neceſſary to indemnify thoſe to whoſe cuſtody the rolls were entruſted [15]. The ſtatute was abrogated therefore in parliament, taken off the rolls and deſtroyed; and thoſe poſſeſſed of copies were directed, under the penalty of fine and impriſonment, to deliver them to the chancellor; "ſo "that all things ſaid or remembered in the bill and act "be for ever out of remembrance and forgotten [16]." The ſtatute was abrogated without recital, in order to conceal its purport, and obliterate if poſſible the facts it atteſted; and a propoſal for reading it, that Stillington biſhop of Bath might be reſponſible for its falſehood, was over-ruled and ſtifled by the king's immediate declaration of par-

[15] Touts les juſtice in l'Exchequer chambre, par le commandement le roi, communerent pour le reverſal del' bil et act, qui baſtard les enfants le roi E. IV. et Eliz. ſa femme. Et priſteront ſa direcſion pour ceo, que le bill et l'act fuit cy, faux et ſlandereux, q'ills ne voill *reherſes le matter ne l'effect de la matre* mes tant ſolement que Ric. fiſt un faux et ſeditioux bill, a eſtre mis a luy, qui commence ſic, pleaſeth it your highneſs to conſider theſe articles enſuing, &c. ſans pl. reherſal. And this was the conſideration of the juſtices, that they rehearſe no more of the matter, that the matter might be and remain in perpetual oblivion for the falſeneſs and ſhamefulneſs of it. And if any part of the eſpecialty of the matter, &c. Nota icy bien la policy. Nota enſeint q'ill ne puiſſoient eſtre pris hors del record ſans act del parliament pour l'indemnite et jeopardie d'eux q'avoient les records in lour gard.—Year Book, Hilary Term, 1 Hen. I.

[16] Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. note 18.—But for the Year Book, it would be impoſſible, from the ſhort recital of the preamble, to diſcover which of Richard's acts was reverſed by this ſtatute. Hume's miſtake was unavoidable, as he overlooked the Year Book which Carte had quoted. —Carte's Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 824.

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don [17]. Its falſehood would have merited and demanded detection, not concealment; and Stillington, whoſe evidence had formerly eſtabliſhed the marriage, was, if perjured, an object of puniſhment, not of pardon. But why this precaution to efface all knowledge of Edward's precontract, the pretext of Richard's uſurpation or acceſſion? The ſuppreſſion of the ſtatute without inquiry into its truth, or explanation of its purport, demonſtrates that the recital was dangerous, the fact inconteſtable; otherwiſe it is not conceivable that Henry would prohibit an inveſtigation ſo neceſſary to vindicate his own acceſſion and his queen's legitimacy, or pardon Stillington, whom he never forgave; and whoſe negotiations to procure the delivery of Henry, when an exile in Britanny, into Edward's hands, had rendered him ſo peculiarly obnoxious, that his deſtruction was effected afterwards, on the falſe pretext of his having participated in Lincoln's rebellion [18]. But that which Henry interdicted, the hiſtorian [19], publiſhing under his tyrannical auſpices, durſt not venture to revive or inveſtigate. His danger would have been conſiderable had he aſſigned as the means of Richard's acceſſion, the bill of ſupplication engroſſed in a ſtatute eraſed from the record, the knowledge of which was intercepted, and the poſſeſſion even of a copy prohibited as criminal; but his deſtruction would have been inevitable had he perpetuated a fact which the legiſlature, obſequious to the deliberations of the judges and the injunctions of Henry, had determined to conſign to perpetual oblivion. In conceal-

17 Et meme le jour le bill fuit leu en parliament chambre, mes fuit mouve per aleun ceux que fir, bon ordre que celluy que fiſt ceo faux bill reformera ceo, et diſoient que le eveſque de B. (Stillington then biſhop of Bath and Wells.) fiſt le bill, et les ſeignions vouloient aver luy in le parliament chambre a aver luy reſpondie a ceo. Et le roy dit ait, que il avoit luy pardonner et pour ceo il ne vouloit plus fait a luy; quod nota, conſtantia regis. Et quidam epiſcopi fuerunt contra ipſum.—Year Book, ibid.

18 Godwin de Præſul. Angl. v. Stillington.

19 More's Hiſtory was written according to Grafton in 1508.

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ing Edward's marriage with Eleanor Butler, More co-operated directly with Henry's intentions, and in creating a refutable, fictitious marriage with Elizabeth Lucy, endeavoured to diſcredit all traditionary remembrance of Richard's title.

I obſerved that the authorities ſeparately were not ſatisfactory; collectively they are forcible, perhaps concluſive. Stillington's evidence has been rejected as that of an unprincipled prieſt, actuated either by ſervility to Richard, or revenge for the injuries ſuſtained from Edward. We now diſcover, that at a period long previous to Richard's acceſſion, Edward's mother was appriſed of his marriage, and ſtrove ineffectually to preſerve him from bigamy; that her information originated either from the injured lady, or from Stillington, the prieſt who pronounced the ceremony, and in whoſe hands the contract was depoſited; that Edward, whether to recover the contract, or to revenge and puniſh the diſcloſure of his ſecret, diſgraced and impriſoned the biſhop, nor releaſed him till a ſevere fine was extorted [20]; that the teſtimony of the latter, thus corroborated by Edward's reſentment, was with other depoſitions produced and ſuſtained as ſatisfactory in council; that it was afterwards recognized in full parliament [21]; and finally, that it was eſtabliſhed inconteſtably in the ſucceeding reign, by the tacit confeſſion of Henry, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs the fact; and of thoſe hiſtorians who, in order to diſprove it, converted a

[20] L'eveſque de Bath mit en avant a ce duc de Glocestre, qui ledit Edward, eſtant fort amoureux d'une dame d'Angleterre lui promit de l'epouſer, pourveu qu'il coucha avec elle, ce que la conſentit; et dit l'eveque *quil les avoit eſpouſez* et n'y avoit que lui, et eux deux.—En plain parlement, le duc de Glocestre fit degrader les deux filles du dit Edward, et declara baſtardes, ſous couleur de quelque cas qu'il preuver par un eveſque de Bath in Angleterre, qui autrefeis avoit un grand credit avec Edward, et puis ſa deſapointa, et tient en priſon, et le rançonne pour un ſomme d'argent; le quel eveſque diſait qu' Edward avoit promis fei de mariage a une dame quil nommoit, et en avoit faits la prommiſſe entre *les mains du dit eveque*.—Mem. de Commines, vol. i. pp. 437. 497.

[21] En plein parliament. Commines.

regular

regular marriage, ſolemnized according to the rites of the church, into a ſuppoſed precontract with a different woman; and attempted, on her fictitious confeſſion, to obviate the exiſtence of a previous marriage. More than that, we obtain the unequivocal teſtimony of Buckingham; who, on the death of his grandfather at the battle of Northampton, became, at the age of five, a ward of the crown, and according to feudal uſage, was ſelected during his minority, as an advantageous huſband for the queen's ſiſter [22]. During his early youth, while educated under the tuition of Edward, he was probably ignorant of lady Butler's marriage; but his ſubſequent confederacy with Richard againſt his wife's relations, can be attributed only to a keen reſentment at the diſcovery of the injury his couſin had ſuſtained. His intereſt during the adminiſtration of the Woodvilles, was equivalent to whatever he could expect with Richard; and unleſs ſome ſecret diſguſt be admitted, he had no temptation to deſert his connections. No rational motive could actuate his conduct, but that conviction which he felt and expreſſed, and thoſe paſſions which would prompt a proud and indignant ſpirit to renounce his intereſts, and relinquiſh every political connection, to ſacrifice even the lives of his friends, in order to revenge the diſhonour of his family. That conviction of which he aſſures us, when alone preſumable as a motive, from the tenor of his conduct, is an indiſputable teſtimony to the truth of the marriage. "Richard," he informs us, "brought in inſtruments, "authentic doctors, authorities of the law, with depoſi-"tions of divers witneſſes, teſtifying Edward's children "to be baſtards; which depoſitions then I thought to be "*as true* as now I know them to be falſe and feigned [23]."

[22] Dugdale's Baronage.—Buckingham's education was committed by Edward to his ſiſter the ducheſs of Exeter. Id.

[23] Grafton, Hall, in continuation of More.—See in the note above, the quotation from Commines.

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His belief is certain; his ſubſequent incredulity may be regarded as a gratuitous conceſſion to Morton, with whom in concerting rebellion, a diſavowal of his former conviction was a decency not to be omitted by hiſtorians. Whether he was afterwards diſabuſed of error, or perverted by ambition, may be juſtly queſtioned, when his deliberate conviction had already adjudged the crown to Richard. "When the ſaid depoſitions were before us "(lords ſpiritual and temporal, evidently the council) "read, and diligently heard, Richard ſtood up, bare-"headed, ſaying, "Well, my lords, even as I and you "would that my nephews ſhould have no wrong, ſo I "pray you do me nothing but right; for theſe witneſſes "and ſayings of famous doctors be true, for I am only "the indubitable heir to Richard Plantagenet duke of "York, adjudged to be the very heir to the crown of this "realm by the authority of parliament." Which things, "(ſays Buckingham,) ſo by learned men for verity to us "declared, cauſed me and others to take him for our "lawful and undoubted prince and ſovereign lord[24]." I am unwilling unneceſſarily to criminate human nature; and as Richard's conduct, previous to his appointment to the protectorate, may receive an explication on juſtifiable motives, I will not preſume that, in the allegiance ſworn to his nephew, he was intentionally perjured; that he meditated ſchemes to ſupport his pretenſions, or was conſcious even of his right to the crown. Were conjecture admiſſible in hiſtorical controverſy, I would advance, as a reaſonable ſuppoſition, that the Ducheſs of York, a prudent woman, who had guarded the ſecret from the inconſiderate Clarence[25], had concealed it with equal circumſpection from Richard, nor diſcloſed it till his return from the north after Edward's death, when his power as protector enabled him to vindicate his title, and exclude a

[24] Grafton, Hall, in continuation of More.
[25] See vol. ix. ch. i. ſect. 5

baſtard

baſtard race from the throne. But whatever was the period at which his ambition commenced, his right of ſucceſſion, as the heir of Richard Plantagenet his father, is to me indiſputable. Clarence's iſſue was excluded by attainder, and Edward's marriage with lady Butler is eſtabliſhed at preſent by ſuch evidence as it is poſſible either to obtain or expect, ſuch as would be tranſmitted through the medium of an hoſtile faction, always malignant, and ultimately victorious. If the records of the Yorkiſts have periſhed with their family, the truth, though ſuppreſſed by their enemies, may be ſtill traced in the partial and contradictory narratives of thoſe hiſtorians, who, at a ſubſequent period, diſfigured the annals of a ſhort reign, diſquieted and unfortunate, but not inglorious.

III. The preceding diſcuſſions, as preparatory to our *inquiries concerning the young princes confined in the Tower, give us few indications* of Richard's character, his hiſtorical character, and no aſſurance whatever of the fate of his nephews. Inſtead of a perjured traitor, we recognize the legitimate ſovereign of England. Inſtead of a violent uſurpation, we diſcover an acceſſion, irregular according to modern uſage, but eſtabliſhed without violence on a legal title. The crimes imputed to his youth diſappear; and in the execution of Rivers, Gray, and Haſtings, if the ultimate object was to ſecure his ſucceſſion, ſome intermediate myſterious cauſe will be ſuſpected by thoſe, whoſe inquiries have taught them to peruſe our ancient hiſtorians with extreme miſtruſt[26].

Richard,

[26] The execution of Gray and Rivers may be conſidered as a juſt retribution for the murder of Clarence; nor is Richard's morality highly cenſurable, if he inflicted a juſt revenge on his brother's murderers without reverſing the attainder of his iſſue, that eſtabliſhed his own ſucceſſion to the crown. The effect of the attainder was too remote, conſequential, and precarious, to involve Richard in a ſhare of the murder; and acquitting him of any participation in that crime, we muſt allow that, according to the ſpirit of thoſe times, his revenge was

Richard, according to theſe hiſtorians, aſſuming on the ninth, or the nineteenth of June, the regal dignity, was crowned

was juſtifiable, prompted at leaſt by a laudable reſentment. Haſtings's execution is more myſterious. More's information has been conſidered as traditionary, gleaned from his converſe with Richard's cotemporaries; but a tradition recorded by Harrington (1596) aſſigns his hiſtory to Morton. (Malone's Shakſpeare, vol. v. p. 562.) and a Latin Hiſtory of Richard, compoſed by that prelate, was preſerved in the laſt century by Roper, a deſcendant of More, to whom, as a favourite pupil, the book had devolved. (Buck. apud Kennet, 546.) That ſuch was the ſource of his information, the ſubſtratum on which he conſtructed his hiſtory, is further confirmed by the Engliſh edition, which, extending beyond the period of Richard's acceſſion, comprehends the murder of his nephews, the ſecret diſaffection of Buckingham, and terminates abruptly in the midſt of an intereſting converſation between the latter and Morton. The converſation is reſumed and continued by Hall and Grafton, in a manner equally minute and circumſtantial, nor apparently leſs authentic; and as the particulars could only be obtained from Morton, I conclude that they and More had acceſs to the ſame original information, and attributed the materials of the hiſtory in queſtion to Morton, the ornamental and claſſical varniſh to More. This diſcovery may exculpate More from the imputation of propagating deliberate falſehood. Not a ſpectator merely, but an actor chiefly inſtrumental in Richard's deſtruction: Morton's knowledge and intentional miſrepreſentation of Edward's marriage, and Richard's title, beſtows additional confirmation on both. The ſeizure and execution of Haſtings, at which he was preſent, is preceded in his hiſtory by dreams and omens, and related with circumſtances ſo ridiculous, that they provoke a ſmile amidſt all the tragic declamation of the drama. The Protector, at a council held in the Tower, requeſted a diſh of ſtrawberries from Morton for dinner, retired for an interval, but returning with a countenance expreſſive of wrath and vengeance, exclaimed at the ſorcery practiſed on his perſon by the queen, Jean Shore, and Haſtings her paramour, and bared his withered arm as a proof of their guilt. The moſt prominent circumſtances are hiſtorically certain; a cry of treaſon was raiſed without, the Protector's armed attendants, on his opening the door, ruſhed into the council, apprehended Haſtings, the primate, and Morton, and while the latter were impriſoned, the former was conducted to immediate execution. [Fabian.] But the intermediate circumſtances are falſe and abſurd; Jean Shore was the miſtreſs of Dorſet, not of Haſtings, and, from an original letter of Richard's, was treated certainly with peculiar lenity. (Hiſtorical Doubts, p. 118.) But why theſe dreams and predictions of Haſtings's death? Shall we believe that Richard's arm was withered and uſeleſs, Richard a warrior, expert at arms? or if ſecret, that he would expoſe his diſhonour; if notorious, that he would render it the abſurd pretext for the murder of his friend? What do theſe multiplied abſurdities amount to? The artificial glare with which the whole is ſurrounded, generates a ſuſpicion that ſome treaſon was

detected

crowned on the ſixth of July, and thereafter began a progreſs through Glouceſter, Warwick, and Coventry, northward to York; during which the young princes were ſecretly murdered. Theſe events are recorded as paſſing in rapid ſucceſſion, as connected together; the execution of Haſtings with Richard's acceſſion, the death of the princes with his coronation, and immediate removal from London. The public records correct theſe dates; the acceſſion took place on the twenty-ſeventh of June, about a fortnight after the execution of Haſtings, and the coronation was celebrated on the ſixth of July, in the preſence of almoſt every peer of the realm [27]. The progreſs north commenced in the beginning of September, and till that period we are aſſured that the princes continued alive.

During this expedition, aſſociations were formed, and various inſurrections projected for their delivery; but when theſe were matured, and Buckingham proclaimed as the leader of the enterpriſe, a report prevailed that the princes had ſuffered a violent death. Such is the conciſe and barren account of contemporary writers, whoſe narrations rather atteſt the exiſtence of the rumour than the truth of the murder, and to whom the manner in which it was perpetrated was then unknown. Succeeding hiſtorians have adopted that which, among different traditionary ſtories, appeared the moſt probable to ſir Thomas More. Richard, during his progreſs, preſaging danger from the lives of his nephews, diſpatched an attendant from Glouceſter with orders to Brakenbury for their immediate death. Brakenbury reſiſted the diſhoneſt pro-

detected and puniſhed, a conſpiracy in which Morton had participated with Haſtings, and was therefore deſirous to remove from view.

[27] Compare Grafton's liſt of the peers preſent at the coronation with the lords ſummoned to parliament in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII., and it will appear that their number amounted to about thirty-ſix, of whom thirty-two attended the coronation, and in all probability concurred in preſenting the bill of ſupplication. Henry's firſt parliament was not attended by half the number. See Parliamentary Hiſt.

poſal,

poſal, and Green the meſſenger returned with his refuſal to Richard at Warwick, who complaining to a page that his commands were unexecuted, was directed to ſir James Tyrell (then aſleep with his brother in the next apartment) as an aſpiring man, depreſſed by Ratcliffe, and likely to perpetrate whatever was enjoined. Tyrell accordingly was commiſſioned next morning to receive, for a ſingle night, the keys and the command of the Tower from Brakenbury, and repairing to London, employed Dighton and Foreſt to ſtifle the princes while aſleep at midnight. The bodies were buried at the bottom of the ſtaircaſe, but were afterwards removed by the chaplain; and Tyrell, having performed his commiſſion, haſtened back to Richard, by whom he was knighted, much honoured, and highly rewarded.

It has been obſerved with truth, that theſe circumſtances are improbable, and partly falſe; that Richard, before his departure from London, would have founded Brakenbury in deviſing the murder; nor would ſuch a propoſal be entruſted either to a letter, or to verbal credentials; that Richard would not have communicated his diſappointment ſo freely; nor was Tyrell, already knighted and maſter of the horſe, in a ſituation to be either depreſſed by Ratcliffe, or recommended to the king's notice by a nameleſs page; and finally, that Brakenbury on his refuſal would not have been ſuperſeded for the palpable purpoſe of murder, nor again entruſted with the command of the Tower [28].

But the ſtory is not deſtitute of evidence, the confeſſion of the aſſaſſins, to be noticed in the ſequel, and the accidental diſcovery, in the laſt century, of bones correſpondent in ſize to thoſe of the princes, buried in the Tower, under the rubbiſh of a ruinous ſtaircaſe. They were found, it is ſaid, in a cheſt or coffin at the depth of

[28] Walpole's Hiſt. Doubts, p. 53.

ten feet, in rebuilding a ſtaircaſe conducting from the king's lodgings to the chapel in the White Tower, and were depoſited as the remains of the princes, by Charles II. in Weſtminſter Abbey [29]. Their identity has been inferred from their ſize and irregular interment, indicating, as the ground was not conſecrated, a ſecret murder; from the coincidence of the place with hiſtorical deſcription, and from the preſumption that no children unconnected with the crown were expoſed in the Tower to a violent death [30]. To me the inference appeared at firſt to be ſtrong and concluſive; but there are difficulties not to be ſurmounted or obviated:—1. The coincidence of place is extremely doubtful. The princes, according to a tradition preſerved in the Tower, were lodged in a building near the water-gate, and Tyrell, as we are informed, remained till the murder was finiſhed, at the bottom of the ſtaircaſe, beneath which he interred their bodies [31]. They were buried therefore under the ſtairs of their lodging; but Henry, to whom the aſſaſſins diſcloſed the place, fought ineffectually to diſcover the bodies, and concluded at laſt that the chaplain, who was then dead, had removed them elſewhere. Their bodies therefore muſt have been transferred from the ſtaircaſe of their lodging, to that of the chapel; and thoſe who were preſent at the diſcovery and inſpected the bones, admitted that they were found, not in the place where Tyrell had depoſited, but where the prieſt had removed, them [32]. That place was un-

[29] Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt.

[30] Hume's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 459. note M.

[31] Bacon, p. 608. The place where the princes were confined, has been denominated the Bloody Tower.

[32] See Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory, where, on the authority of the king's ſurgeon, who was preſent at the diſcovery, the place where the bones were found, is explicity marked, and admitted to be different from the place where Tyrell interred them. Whoever examines the ſituation of the chapel, and its diſtance from the ſtaircaſe, ſtill ſhewn in the Bloody Tower, muſt be convinced that the bones were not diſcovered where Tyrell was ſaid to have buried the bodies.

known, its coincidence with the ſituation of the bodies is conjectural, nor is it probable that a ſtaircaſe ſhould be twice ſelected to conceal their remains; but it is certain that the chaplain, when directed by Richard to remove their bodies to a place leſs unſuitable to the ſons of a king, would have given them a regular interment in conſecrated ground.—2. The identity of the bones is uncertain. The Tower was both a palace and a ſtate priſon, the receptacle of Lollards, heretics, and criminals, within which thoſe who died by diſeaſe or violence were always buried: the diſcovery therefore of bones is neither ſurpriſing nor, perhaps, uncommon; but we muſt guard againſt the extreme credulity perceptible in the officers, who, perſuaded that the princes were ſecretly interred in the Tower, appropriated every ſkeleton to them. Bones found at a former period in a deſerted turret were regarded as the remains of one of the princes; though ſome entertained a ludicrous ſuſpicion, that they belonged to an old ape who had clambered thither and periſhed [33]. As to the bones in queſtion, we are merely informed that their ſize correſponded with the age of the princes; and without aſſurance of the time at which, from the ſtate of the bones, they were probably interred, we are required to believe, that during a period of two centuries they remained unconſumed, and the cheſt in which they were depoſited entire. We know not whether the ſituation indicated a ſecret murder by an irregular interment in unconſecrated ground; they were buried beneath the ſtaircaſe of a conſecrated chapel, in ground which, previous to the erection of the ſtaircaſe, had perhaps been conſecrated as a place of interment. They were buried ten feet beneath the ſurface, a depth which the murderers had no leiſure, the prieſt no occaſion, to penetrate; his buſineſs was to inter them decently, not to conceal

[33] Buck. p. 552.

them; and on the ſuppoſition of their removal to conſecrated ground, who can diſtinguiſh their remains from others? But the depth of a grave on the outſide of a chapel, indicates people that had died of the peſtilence, and were buried precipitately in the ſame coffin without the church, and at ſuch a diſtance from the ſurface, as to prevent the danger or the dread of contagion. I know not that children of royal blood were alone expoſed in the Tower to a violent death; but the diſcovery of a ſkeleton in the ruins of the Baſtile, would have been no proof that the man in the iron maſk was aſſaſſinated [34].

There is another objection to More's relation, if eſtabliſhed, abſolutely preclufive of the fact. A ſingular, and, for Richard's memory, a providential concurrence of circumſtances, enables us to aſcertain the duration, and to trace the particular ſtages, of that progreſs, in the courſe of which the ſuppoſed deſtruction of his nephews was planned and accompliſhed. He was at Weſtminſter on Sunday the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, where he ratified a league with the king of Caſtile, and at York on the ſeventh of September, the day preceding his ſecond coronation [35]. Windſor, Oxford, and Glouceſter, are ſpecified as the three firſt ſtages of his journey; and he ſeems to have carried his queen to Windſor, with the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, on Monday the firſt of September, and leaving them there, to have proceeded on Tueſday to Oxford, where, at the requiſition of the univerſity, he releaſed Morton, it is ſaid, from the Tower. At Woodſtock, which he probably reached that evening, the popular clamour induced him to diſafforeſt an extenſive circuit, an-

34 When the identity of place is removed, it is obvious that the preſumption ariſing from the ſize of the bones is ſlight in itſelf, and obviated both by the diſcovery of ſimilar bones at a former period, and the certainty that private murders were not uncommon, and interments frequent and cuſtomary in the Tower. Arthur lord Liſle, the brother of theſe princes, was buried with many others, in the Tower.

35 Rymer, vol. xii.

nexed

nexed by his brother to Whichwood foreſt[36]; and at Glouceſter, whither he arrived on the morrow, he honoured his ducal city by the creation or appointment of a mayor and ſheriffs. Theſe circumſtances poſtpone his arrival in Glouceſter till Wedneſday the third, and he muſt have returned his journey on Thurſday, in order to accompliſh it within the period limited. Paſſing through Worceſter, he was rejoined at Warwick on Thurſday by the queen and the Spaniſh ambaſſadors from Windſor; and proceeding through Coventry and Leiceſter, he arrived on Friday at Nottingham, on Saturday at Pontefract, and on Sunday at York. With the train and impediments of a court, which limited the daily progreſs to fifty miles, the time allotted, of which the two firſt days were expended neceſſarily at Windſor and Oxford, was barely ſufficient for performing the journey. Green then, if diſpatched from Glouceſter, or on the road thither, had no time to return to London on Wedneſday, execute his commiſſion to Brakenbury, and rejoin Richard on Thurday at Warwick; a journey upwards of two hundred miles before the eſtabliſhment of regular poſts. Tyrell, commiſſioned to ſuperſede Brackenbury, departed early on Friday from Warwick; yet we are aſſured that, returning after the execution of his orders, he overtook

[36] Rous, p. 216. Chr. Croyl. More. The different ſtages of the progreſs are to be diſcovered by an inſpection of theſe writers; the duration of it is aſcertained by Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. There is a letter, however, in Drake's Eboracum, from John Kendal, Richard's ſecretary, to the mayor of York, dated at Nottingham the 23d of Auguſt, (without any year,) informing the mayor, that the court had been worſhipfully received throughout the progreſs, and deſiring pageants to be prepared for their reception at York, p. 117. Ex lib. Chart. in Cuſt. Com. Ebor. Were the date certain, the letter could not invalidate the authority of the records publiſhed by Rymer; but it was written undoubtedly in the enſuing year, and dated, as I ſuſpect, on the 23d of September, on which day Richard was certainly at Nottingham, Rym. vol. xii. Drake apprehending that it was written previous to the coronation in the former year, and knowing that the progreſs was over, and that Richard was not at Nottingham on the 23d of September of that year, altered, as I imagine, the date to Auguſt.

the king previous to his arrival on Sunday at York. The wardrobe roll, in which were inſerted as an article of expenditure, robes provided for Edward, affords no preſumption, as was once expected, that the young prince walked in proceſſion at his uncle's coronation. But its information is otherwiſe material, that previous to the progreſs northward, ſir James Tyrell, knighted during the former reign, was maſter of the horſe, and in that capacity received conſiderable deliveries from the wardrobe, to be employed in the approaching coronation at York[37]. The preſumption thence ariſing of his attendance at the coronation, is confirmed by More's narrative of his haſtening after the murder of Richard, who received him with marked approbation and honour, circulated a report of the death of his nephews, and *then* proſecuted his journey to York. Tyrell, therefore, was preſent, and officiated at the coronation as maſter of the horſe. The dates are inſurmountable, authenticated by public inſtruments; they reduce this ſtrange tranſaction to three days; and we are required to believe, that Tyrell, who, diſpatched from Warwick on Friday, could not arrive at the Tower till Saturday, nor perpetrate the murder till midnight, departed from London on Sunday morning, and rejoined the king on the road, previous to his arrival that evening at York. We are required to believe, that two conſecutive journies of five hundred miles were performed by Green and Tyrell in four days, and theſe with the interruption of two nights, and the day preparatory and previous to the murder. Such journies, with our modern roads and relays of horſes, may be practicable at preſent; but when I review the particulars, and conſider the period, I conclude without heſitation, that the fact related by More is im-

[37] See Mill's account of wardrobe roll in the Archeologia, vol. i. from which it appears that the wardrobe-keeper had taken the opportunity of charging, in the diſburſements for Richard's coronation, the robes formerly provided for the Lord Edward. See alſo Hiſt. Doubts, p. 65.

poſſible,

poſſible. He knew not, it is evident, that the progreſs was ſtrictly limited to ſeven days; but finding the month of Auguſt unoccupied, appropriated that period to Richard's progreſs and ſir James Tyrell's adventures; prolonged the ſtay of the former at Glouceſter, Warwick, and other cities, till the latter rejoined him, and about the end of Auguſt, conducted them both to York, before the departure of either from London. The time aſſumed was requiſite for the various tranſactions recorded; reſtricted to the ſhort ſpace of a week, it demonſtrates that theſe are fictitious; that Richard could not be overtaken on Thurſday at Warwick, by a meſſenger ſent on Wedneſday from Glouceſter, to the Tower of London; and that Tyrell, diſpatched thither on Friday, and employed on Saturday in ſelecting inſtruments, removing the keepers, and making other arrangements preparatory to the murder, could not poſſibly perpetrate the fact, rejoin Richard, and reach York, in the ſpace of a day [38].

The murder, however, is ſtill poſſible, as the credit of contemporary writers remains unimpaired; and of theſe, as the moſt credulous and prejudiced, Rous ſhall be firſt examined, and diſmiſſed for ever: "Glouceſter obtained, "or rather invented, the title of Protector, to promote "himſelf, and diſinherit king Edward, who, with his "brother, was impriſoned ſo cloſely, that the par-"ticular death by which they were martyred *(qua "morte martyrizati ſunt)* was known to few. The "throne of the murdered kings was then uſurped "by their protector, Richard the tyrant, who had "remained two years in his mother's womb, and at "Fotheringay, on the feaſt of eleven thouſand virgins, "was born with long hair, and his teeth complete: at "his nativity the Scorpion was aſcendant, a ſign in the

[38] Carte was the firſt that diſcovered this argument; but a typographical error in the dates renders it, as explained in his hiſtory, abſolutely unintelligible. Hiſt. vol. xi. p. 819.

" houſe of Mars; and as the Scorpion's aſpect is bland " and *fawning*, its ſting mortal, ſuch was Richard, who " received his maſter Edward with kiſſes and *fawning* " careſſes, and in three months, murdered him and his " brother, poiſoned his own wife, and what was moſt de- " teſtable both to God and the Engliſh nation, ſlew the " ſanctified Henry VI.[39]." The hiſtorian who deduces Richard's crimes from a calculation of his nativity, may atteſt the popular belief and rumour; but his private information muſt reſt, where he has placed it, on the authority of the ſtars.

The princes, according to Fabian, were, on Richard's acceſſion, " put under ſure keeping in the Tower, in " ſuch wiſe as they never came abroad;" and afterwards " the common fame ran, that king Richard had put them " unto ſecret death; for the which and other cauſes had " within the breaſt of the duke of Buckingham, the ſaid " duke conſpired againſt him." " Remanſerunt Ed- " wardi filii ſub certa deputata cuſtodia infra turrim, pro " quorum liberatione, exceperunt populi auſtrales et oc- " cidentales plurimum ſubmurmurare, inire cœtus et " conventiuncula, maximeque hic qui per franchefias et " ſanctuaria diſperſi ſunt. Cumque tandem populus ad " ulciſcenſum conſiderationes iniret, factis publicis pro- " clamationibus, quod dux Buckinghamiæ facti pœnitens " capitaneus in hac re principalis exiſterit, *vulgatum eſt* " *dictos Edwardi filios, qua genere violenti interitus ignora-* " *retur, deceſſiſſe in fata*[40]." Such is the authentic information derived from contemporaries, expreſſive only of the prevailing opinion; yet of an opinion ſuppoſed to be corroborated by the repentant conviction of Buckingham, the belief of the inſurgents, and the poſitive teſtimony of thoſe Yorkiſts who joined the Lancaſtrians, and promoted Richmond to the throne of England.

[39] Reus, p. 214. [40] Page 567, 8.

Perhaps

Perhaps there is too much refinement in ſuppoſing, that for different purpoſes, a ſimilar report was propagated both by Richard and Buckingham; by Richard, to perſuade the people that the *death* of his nephews rendered him indiſputably their ſovereign; by Buckingham, to convince them that the *murder* of the princes required and juſtified *his* reſiſtance, the degradation of the tyrant, and the elevation of a new line to the throne. We are informed by More, that Richard circulated the firſt report of the death of his nephews, an improbable circumſtance on the ſuppoſition of their murder; but we are aſſured by the monk of Croyland, that the rumour prevailed not, till the inſurgents were prepared for revolt, not till Buckingham was proclaimed their leader [41]. Such an opportune report, diverting their attention from the young princes whom they had confederated to reſcue, to the exiled Richmond, generates a ſuſpicion that it was diſſeminated purpoſely by Buckingham and Morton, and afterwards prepoſterouſly attributed to Richard. Their motives hitherto have never been examined. Buckingham's family had been Lancaſtrians; his father periſhed at the battle of St. Albans, his grandfather at that of Northampton; and Morton, a Lancaſtrian alſo, had been faithful to Henry VI. in his loweſt fortune. Buckingham's defection has been variouſly aſcribed to reſentment or penitence; reſentment at the refuſal of deſerved rewards, and repentance of his treachery to Edward's children. Every reward that could enſure a friend, or attach a ſubject, had been accumulated on him; and it is not credible that a repentant humour would induce him, for Richmond's benefit, to endanger himſelf, or diſſolve the government he had recently conſtructed. A political character is ſeldom acceſſible to penitence, unleſs it be profitable. Reſentment at Edward's offspring, had con-

[41] Supra.

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nected him with Richard; from whom, as no cauſe of quarrel exiſted, ambition alone could detach him afterwards. His motives may be diſcovered from his converſations with Morton, an artful intermixture of truth and falſehood [42]. Morton, a priſoner at Brecknock, remarking Buckingham's ſecret diſaffection, propoſed that he ſhould dethrone the tyrant Richard; and if averſe to the cares and diſquiet of a crown, beſtow it on the princeſs Elizabeth, or reinſtate the royal lineage of Lancaſter. Buckingham replied, that at Glouceſter, when informed of the murder of the princes, (a murder not then perpetrated,) he forſook the court with deteſtation and horror; and ruminating during his journey on the deſtruction of the tyrant, recollected for the firſt time that himſelf, the deſcendant and repeſentative of John of Gaunt, poſſeſſed an indubitable title to the crown. An interview with Margaret counteſs of Richmond, deſtroyed theſe viſions, by reminding him that they were ſprung from two brothers, dukes of Somerſet, and lineal deſcendants of John of Gaunt; but that as her father was the elder brother, her ſon's was therefore the preferable title. But he could not be ignorant that the Beauforts, dukes of Somerſet, though deſcended from John of Gaunt, were the produce of an adulterous connection with Catherine Swineford; and when legitimated by parliament, were excluded expreſsly from ſucceſſion to the crown. He muſt have remembered his own deſcent from Anne, daughter and heireſs of Thomas of Woodſtock, ſon of Edward III., and younger brother of Edmond of Langley, and John of Gaunt, progenitors of the York and Lancaſtrian families; and recollected (for he bore the arms of Thomas of Woodſtock) that ſuch deſcent afforded a title inferior only to Richard's,

[42] See More, and Hall and Grafton's continuation of this curious converſation: the particulars of which, as they were derived from Morton himſelf, ſerve to elucidate much of the obſcurity attending Richard's acceſſion.

and

and ſuperior to any pretenſions of his or Richmond's, as the ſpurious deſcendants of John of Gaunt[43]. The fact is, that Richmond never avowed his pretenſions, till the field of Boſworth decided his right. Individually his power was unequal to a conteſt with Buckingham, whoſe Lancaſtrian title, however defective, was ſufficient to conciliate the Lancaſtrian intereſt; and whoſe ambition, had his rebellion proſpered, would have induced him aſſuredly to retain and wear, not to reſign to Richmond, the crown he had conquered; and to fortify his doubtful title, by an union with the Yorkiſts, the intermarriage of his ſon with the princeſs Elizabeth. Whatever were the ſecret motives of Morton and others, *his* propinquity to the crown, and the probable iſſue of his conduct if ſucceſsful, indicates an ambition aſpiring to royalty, and productive of rebellions, in which repentance had no ſhare. The murder therefore of the young princes is not authenticated by his revolt, ſince we cannot conclude from his conduct, that his motive was to avenge their death. On the contrary, a report propagated on the eve of a general inſurrection, excites a ſuſpicion that it was deviſed to render the inſurrection popular, to juſtify the propoſed degradation of Richard, and the transference of the crown to a different family.

But the report is confirmed by contemporary evidence, that of the chief partiſans of York; who, perſuaded of the murder, concurred with the Lancaſtrians in ſupporting Richmond, and promoting the union of the rival roſes[44]. The argument is ſpecious, not ſatisfactory; for thoſe enumerated as the principal Yorkiſts, were either Lancaſtrians, or connected by birth or affinity with Bucking-

43 Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. Dugdale's Baronage.

44 Hume's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 456. A ſtrong proof of Hume's inattention to the *minutiæ* of hiſtory is, that thoſe whom he enumerates as the principal Yorkiſts were all Lancaſtrians, the Stanleys ex-

ham

ham and Richmond. The Courtneys were Lancaſtrians, and ſtedfaſt adherents of Henry VI. the earl of Devon was enriched by the forfeiture of the duke of York; his ſon was attainted by Edward, and afterwards ſlain, fighting for the Lancaſtrians, at the battle of Tewkſbury; and his family ſupported the inſurrection of Buckingham. The Talbots were Lancaſtrians, and obtained their ſhare in the rich confiſcations of the duke of York; the earl of Shrewſbury and Chriſtopher his brother fell at Northampton; and ſir Gilbert Talbot, a ſurviving brother, brought a large acceſſion of ſtrength to the ſtandard of Richmond. The Stanleys were properly Yorkiſts; but lord Stanley's marriage with Richmond's mother, which rendered his fidelity ſuſpicious, occaſioned his ſubſequent defection from Richard. The Blounts were Yorkiſts; but lord Mountjoy and Sir James [45] his brother, were connected both with Buckingham and Richmond; their mother was the dowager ducheſs of Buckingham; Henry Stafford their uterine brother was the counteſs of Richmond's ſecond huſband; and the execution of Buckingham their nephew, attached them neceſſarily to Richmond's intereſt. If the Berkleys were Yorkiſts, we diſcover in their acceſſion to Buckingham's conſpiracy, their diſſatisfaction at the recent elevation of the Howards, deſcended with them from the daughters of Thomas firſt duke of Norfolk, and earl marſhal of England; but as their mother was the eldeſt daughter, the revival of theſe honours in the Howard family was probably reſented as injurious to theirs [46]. Bourchier's and Hungerford's fathers

[45] Who betrayed the caſtle of Hams to Richmond.

[46] The title of Norfolk had been beſtowed before-hand by Edward on his ſecond ſon Richard duke of York, whom he betrothed and intended to marry to the infant daughter and heireſs of Mowbrey, the laſt duke. It was ſuggeſted, I find, by a learned prelate, in his correſpondence with the late Dr. Henry, that Richard would not have offered, nor would Howard have accepted, the title, unleſs it was vacant; and as there was no forfeiture, there is reaſon to preſume that the

fathers were Lancaſtrians; Willoughby, Cheney, Dawbeny, Arundel, and others, were either ſoldiers of deſperate fortune, or private gentlemen whoſe political connections no reſearches can now diſcover. Sir Thomas St. Leger is marked as a partiſan of the houſe of York, on account of his marriage with the ducheſs of Exeter, Richard's ſiſter; but the ducheſs died in the former reign; and as her firſt huſband was a devoted Lancaſtrian, we have no aſſurance that the ſecond was a Yorkiſt. The conſpiracy for which he ſuffered was concerted to reſcue and reſtore the princes, and its formation preceded the report of their death [47]. Thoſe partiſans, whoſe deſertion of Richard can be rendered a preſumptive atteſtation of the murder, are therefore reduced to the Grays and Woodvilles, the queen's relations; and as theſe were originally Lancaſtrian families, I cannot diſcover that Richmond's acceſſion was effected, as hiſtorians have imagined, by a previous coalition with the principal Yorkiſts [48].

The queen's friends, whoſe attachment to the houſe of York depended ſolely on their alliance with Edward, projected, for the reſtitution of his children, thoſe inſurrections to which Buckingham, Morton, and the Lancaſtrians acceded. The report of the murder diſſolving their recent connection with the Yorkiſts, renewed their former attachment to Lancaſter; and I muſt conclude

the title was vacated by the duke of York's death. The argument is the leſs concluſive, as Howard's creation took place on the 28th June 1483, when the duke of York was certainly not underſtood to be dead. The intereſts of a boy might have been diſregarded, or the revival of the title in his perſon conſidered as irregular, injurious to the claims of the Howards, deſcendants of the firſt duke. But the duke of York, as far as hiſtory can aſcertain, was certainly alive on the 8th of September following.

47 See Dugdale's Baronage, under the names of the reſpective families enumerated in the text.

48 In the hiſtorians of the period there is no trace of ſuch a previous union of the Lancaſtrians and Yorkiſts.

that

that they acted on a firm perſuaſion and belief of the fact, when they transferred their intereſt gratuitouſly to Richmond, concurred in his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, and for his benefit perſiſted in thoſe inſurrections, that were firſt concerted to reſcue Edward V. from priſon. Their evidence reſolves however into mere opinion, their belief of a dark and ſecret tranſaction, to the truth of which they had no certain acceſs: it is diminiſhed by the frequent fluctuations, and deſtroyed by the apparent contradiction, of their ſubſequent conduct. The queen, on aſſurance of ſafety, forſook the ſanctuary, and reſorted with her daughter to Richard's court: his propoſals for marriage proved ſo acceptable to the princeſs Elizabeth, that ſhe ſeems to have languiſhed with impatience for the nuptials[49]; and the marquis of Dorſet endeavoured, by the queen his mother's directions, to eſcape from Richmond, by whom he was intercepted, and during the ſubſequent invaſion, detained priſoner at Paris. Either their former perſuaſion was much altered, or the mother had forgotten or pardoned the murderer of her ſons, and the daughter was deſirous of embracing a huſband, polluted with the recent blood of her brothers. Adopting their conduct as the rule of evidence, we muſt conclude from Buckingham's inſurrection, when their intereſt was certainly exerted for Richmond, that they were actuated then by the report of the murder, and their own internal conviction of its truth; but we muſt alſo conclude from the ſame rule, that Richard was afterwards enabled to eſtabliſh his innocence, to convince the queen that her children ſurvived, or at leaſt that their death was caſual, not accelerated by his interference. If he was ſerious in his propoſals to marry Elizabeth his intention was not to ſtrengthen his title, (her illegitimacy

[49] Buck quotes a letter of hers to the duke of Norfolk, preſerved in the earl of Arundel's library, and expreſſive of extreme impatience for the marriage.

precluded

precluded that,) but to fruſtrate any hoſtile connection with Richmond.

The circumſtances now aſcertained are, the exiſtence of the princes on the eighth of September, a conſpiracy for their reſtoration, to which Buckingham and the principal Lancaſtrians acceded, a report of their murder, and the concurrence and temporary reſolution of their kindred to transfer the ſucceſſion to a different family. Two contradictory concluſions are deducible: 1. That Richard, to counteract the object of an alarming conſpiracy, extinguiſhed the male iſſue of Edward his brother: 2. That the report of the murder, originating with Buckingham and Morton and the chief Lancaſtrians, was calculated to deceive, to conciliate the inſurgents to their private meaſures; and that it afterwards paſſed uncontradicted by Richard, as the probable means of uniting the divided adherents of York. Were the evidence to terminate here, the laſt concluſion would be properly rejected; the diſappearance of the princes, ſucceeded by a report and belief of their murder, would conſtitute a ſatisfactory proof that their death was violent. But the evidence extends to a ſubſequent period; and as the re-appearance of one of the princes would render the murder of his brother extremely improbable, the concluſion muſt be ſuſpended till we aſcertain the character of him who, perſonating the duke of York, has in hiſtory been hitherto denominated Perkin Warbeck.

IV. It is ſingular, and perhaps peculiar to Henry's fortune, that his ſucceſs was promoted, and his acquiſition of the crown effected, by a perſuaſion of the death or murder of the young princes; and that his reign was diſquieted afterwards, by the prevailing opinion of their having either eſcaped the cruelty, or ſurvived by the clemency, of their unfortunate uncle. Cardinal Bourchier expreſſed his apprehenſion of the queen's intention to

remove

remove the youngeſt beyond the realm; and early in Richard's reign a conſpiracy for conveying them both abroad was detected and puniſhed [50]. Another deſign for the eſcape of one of their ſiſters, in diſguiſe, from ſanctuary, was diſcovered during the progreſs to York [51]; and ſcarcely was Henry eſtabliſhed on his throne, when a report was diffuſed, and generally credited, that the ſons of Edward IV. had been conveyed ſecretly away, and were ſtill alive, concealed by their obſcurity in ſome diſtant region [52]. Whether the rumour was coëval with Henry's reign, or propagated that Lambert Simnel might perſonate the duke of York, the character aſſumed by that juvenile impoſtor was determined by a ſubſequent report of Warwick's murder, not, as hiſtorians have miſconceived, of his eſcape from the Tower. Surmiſes of ſecret violence to ſtate priſoners, were not peculiar to Richard's reign; and but for Lambert's impoſture, that rendered the public exhibition of Warwick neceſſary, *his* death or exiſtence might have remained as myſterious at preſent as that of his unfortunate couſins, concerning whom reports are ſo various, and whoſe fate hiſtorians are ſo ſolicitous to diſcover [53].

On

50 More. Stowe, Ric. III. 51 Chron. Croyl.

52 "The deaths and final fortunes of the two young princes have "nevertheleſs ſo far come in queſtion, that ſome remained long in "doubt whether they were in Richard's days deſtroyed or no." More. "—In vulgus fama valeret, filios Edwardi regis, aliquo terrarum "ſecreto migraſſe, atque ibi ſuperſtites eſſe." Pol. Virg. p. 569.—"Neither wanted there even at this time" (Henry's acceſſion) "ſecret "rumours and whiſperings, which afterwards gathered ſtrength, "and turned to great trouble, that the two young ſons of king Ed-"ward IV. or one of them, (which were ſaid to be deſtroyed in the "Tower,) were not indeed murdered, but were conveyed ſecretly "away, and were yet living.—And all this time it was ſtill whiſpered "every where that at leaſt one of the children was living." Bacon, p. 4. See Hall.

53 "Fama valeret Edwardum Varvici comitem, vel necatum, vel "brevi necandum. Haud ita multo poſt, fama paſſim diſſipavit in "carcere interiſſe." Pol. Virg. p. 69.—This material fact, perverted by Hall and Grafton, from their tenderneſs to Henry, has ſtrangely

eſcaped

On the appearance of Lambert, when the earl of Lincoln departed to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the ducheſs of Burgundy, Henry, after much deliberation in council, ſeized the queen-dowager's perſon, confiſcated her eſtates, and confined her for life in a ſolitary cloiſter. The pretext was, her having departed from ſanctuary, and entruſted her daughter to Richard's care; a falſe pretext, adopted obviouſly to conceal a more ſecret, and in Henry's eyes a more criminal tranſaction. Either ſhe connived with Lincoln in Lambert's impoſture, or poſſeſſed ſome dangerous political ſecret, dangerous to the future ſtability of Henry's government; and when the preceding report of her ſon's eſcape is combined with the ſubſequent appearance of Warbeck, that ſhe was impriſoned in conſequence of ſuch a report; eſtranged from all correſpondence with the world, to prevent her teſtimony in the event of her ſon's exiſtence from tranſpiring; ſtript of her wealth, to intercept any ſecret reſources from him; is a concluſion more probable than this, that, convinced of the death of her ſons, yet diſſatisfied with Henry, ſhe engaged in a conſpiracy, and promoted an impoſture, for the purpoſe of transferring the crown from the queen her daughter, and prince Arthur her grandſon, to Lincoln, Richard's nephew, formerly declared his preſumptive heir. Let hiſtorians, who aſcribe ſuch conduct to habitual intrigue and the deſire of power, beware of indulging in wanton conjectures. If ſhe had no ſon to ſucceed to the throne, ſhe had no power to expect from the promotion of Richard's heir, or Warwick, Clarence's iſſue, not leſs hateful to her than Lincoln. The report then

eſcaped the notice of our recent hiſtorians, who have all ſuppoſed the impoſture founded on the report of Warwick's eſcape; ſuch impoſture was ſuperfluous if the eſcape was true, and liable to immediate detection if his perſon remained in Henry's cuſtody. We ſee that Henry was defamed in much the ſame manner as Richard; but who will aſſure me that, had Warwick never been exhibited, his execution would have been public, or that his murder would not have been attributed to Richard.

that occaſioned her impriſonment, demonſtrates the probability, as it diſcloſes Henry's apprehenſions, that one at leaſt of her ſons exiſted; and as it was preceded by repeated attempts for their reſcue, it is to be verified or refuted by an inveſtigation of Perkin Warbeck's pretenſions and character.

Hiſtorical notices concerning this perſonage, are ſlight and unſatisfactory, tranſmitted either by Henry, or by writers who diſcover a rancorous prejudice againſt his rival. Warbeck's firſt appearance was in Ireland, whence he was invited by ambaſſadors to France; and on the peace of Eſtaples, he repaired to Flanders, claimed, it is ſaid, and obtained the protection of the ducheſs of Burgundy, was received as her nephew the duke of York, the deſcendant of Edward IV. her brother. The impoſture originated, as is generally aſſerted, in her inveterate hatred of the Lancaſtrian party; for the depreſſion of which, ſhe circulated rumours of her nephew's eſcape from the tyranny of Richard her brother; and after a ſearch for years, diſcovered a youth of obſcure birth, qualified to perſonate the youngeſt of the princes, of the ſame age, handſome and elegant in his perſon and appearance, with a crafty head and bewitching addreſs, ſo ſubtle and cunning, that it was impoſſible in converſation to detect his falſehood; ſuch a wanderer, that it was difficult to trace his origin, or diſcover his adventures; an expert linguiſt, to whom the Engliſh was familiar as his vernacular language; a Jew by birth, yet ſo ſimilar in every feature to him whom he perſonated, that the reſemblance could only be ſolved by the ſuppoſition of his being an illegitimate deſcendant from the ſame father. This *mercurial*, the ducheſs ſecretly retained at court, inſtructed him in her cabinet to aſſume the demeanor and ſtate of a prince, without departing from a modeſt ſenſe of his own misfortunes; informed him of every circumſtance relative to the character he was intended to perſonate; deſcribed minutely

minutely the perſons and features of the king and queen his pretended parents, their ſon prince Edward, their five daughters, and thoſe who had formerly attended the duke of York; deviſed *a ſmooth and likely tale* of his brother's death, and his own eſcape; and concluded her inſtructions by teaching him how to evade, when interrogated, ſuch captious queſtions as might tend to detection. When properly tutored, and inſpired by the ducheſs with unbounded ambition, he was ſent with an Engliſh lady [54] to Portugal, and afterwards emerged from obſcurity in Ireland, aſſumed the character of the duke of York, and attracted the notice, and acquired the eſteem and friendſhip, of different princes. At Paris, an hundred Engliſh gentlemen, who reſorted to him, were convinced of his birth, and embraced his intereſt; his behaviour was princely, and ſupported uniformly with ſuch propriety, that all ranks, perſuaded of his title, regarded him as Richard duke of York: the counterfeit was practiſed ſo long, that it became habitual: it deceived himſelf: from a liar, he became a believer, and was almoſt converted into the identical character which he was employed to exhibit [55]. Of this relation, our author juſtly obſerves, that it is too laboured and artificial to be ſtrictly true; that particulars extremely improbable, and of a nature too ſecret for the hiſtorian to diſcover, are aſſerted poſitively without proof; and that it is "more like a tale con-"triv̧ed to ſolve appearances, than like genuine hiſtory, "ſupported by proper evidence [56]."

Its purport is to diſcredit the public declarations of an aunt, on whoſe teſtimony the exiſtence and identity of her nephew would otherwiſe be eſtabliſhed; and its credit therefore depends on the character and probable motives

54 Lady Brampton; yet her evidence was never produced.

55 Bacon, p. 607. *Credunt ſimul quæ fingunt*, had belonged, I thought, to religious impoſtors.

56 Supra, ch. i. ſect. 1.

of the ducheſs of Burgundy, whether her character can warrant the imputation, and what motives could ſuggeſt the contrivance of ſo vile an impoſture. Margaret was the ſiſter of Richard, the widow of Charles the Hardy, the tutelage of whoſe grandchildren, the Flemings, ever jealous of their liberties, tranſferred, on the death of his daughter, (the offspring of a former marriage,) from Maximilian their father, to Margaret's care. Her execution of this maternal truſt, as deſcribed by an hiſtorian partial to Henry, will explain her character. "Hos "liberos materno amplexa amore, mira charitate, nutrie- "bat, accipiebat, fovebat, ſtudioſe que rebus domeſticis "operam tribuebat, quæ ejuſmodi officiis magnam apud "Flandres ſibi auctoritatem compararet[57]." Such affectionate and prudent conduct indicates thoſe mild and beneficent virtues, that conciliated the eſteem and reſpect of the untractable Flemings, not that character addicted to intrigue and prone to miſchief, which might be ſuſpected of dangerous and dark machinations. An imputation ſo inconſiſtent with her general character, derives no preſumption from her former conduct. Lambert Simnel ſhe never acknowledged, nor ſupported otherwiſe than by furniſhing Lincoln her nephew, once the preſumptive heir of the Engliſh crown, with troops to render his pretenſions effectual. Whatever was the ſecret object of that inſurrection, the impoſture was certainly concerted without her participation; her aſſiſtance was ſolicited by Lincoln alone, and granted, on every hypotheſis, to ſupport a nephew[58], not Lambert, a boy removeable at Lincoln's pleaſure. But on Warbeck's appearance,

57 Polydore Virgil, p. 570.

58 Either Lincoln, or Richard duke of York, (Warwick then was ſuppoſed to be murdered,) but moſt probably the latter. Lincoln, connected with the Plantagenets by the female line, found, when he employed Lambert to perſonate Warwick, that he could not claim in his own perſon; and the pageant could have been removed afterwards with a bad grace, unleſs by the ſuperior right of the duke of York.

when

when Lincoln had periſhed, and Warwick's life was at Henry's diſpoſal; there was no prince of the houſe of York whoſe acceſſion ſuch an impoſture could promote. Warbeck's reward, in the event of his ſucceſs, was the crown of England; and on the ſuppoſition of his impoſture, Margaret, for the purpoſe of ſupplanting Henry, muſt have ſelected a vagabond of a deteſted race, to perſonate the heir, and maintain the honour, of her illuſtrious family, to acquire, and tranſmit to his own deſcendants, that crown which, in her opinion, was the excluſive patrimony of the houſe of York. Whatever were her prejudices or antipathy to Henry, the conduct imputed to her involves "ſuch perverſeneſs, wickedneſs, and malice, "as is ſcarcely credible [59];" more than that, its abſurdity would have defeated her own intentions. She hated Henry, becauſe he depreſſed her family, and communicated no ſhare of his ſplendor or power to her niece, his wife. Therefore ſhe labours, by every deteſtable artifice, to transfer the crown from her own family, from her niece the deſcendant of the houſe of York, to the obſcure ſon of a converted Jew. Concluſions ſo preposterous muſt be rejected, and Margaret's acknowledgment received as evidence of an unſuſpicous nature, confirming the preceding report of her nephew's exiſtence, and atteſting his identity with Perkin Warbeck.

There is ſome difficulty, perhaps, on the diſappearance of the duke of York at the age of nine, his re-appearance at manhood, and obſcurity during the intermediate period. The difficulty is thus obviated: He was either conveyed from the Tower by the intervention of ſome of his mother's friends, or committed by Richard to the care of Margaret, to be educated abroad, in a manner correſpondent to the mediocrity of his future fortune. On theſe ſuppoſitions, Margaret's court was the laſt place to which he could have fled for refuge while Richard was

[59] Supra, ch. i. ſec. x.

alive, or where he could have obtained public protection when Richard was dead. Flanders then was a ſcene of diſtraction; its cities had revolted againſt Maximilian; the inhabitants were dependent on England for a lucrative commerce; and had Margaret produced her nephew in public, no protection could have been obtained from a feeble government, or expected from a people averſe to every altercation, that might terminate in an interruption of their trade with England. The facility with which Henry, by a ſhort ſuſpenſion of commerce, procured the expulſion of Warbeck from Flanders, affords a ſatisfactory reaſon for his obſcurity during his early youth, if entruſted by Richard or others to Margaret's care. If conveyed abroad, as his manifeſto ſeems to inſinuate, by his mother's aſſiſtance, he muſt have effected his eſcape during Richard's life, or after his death at the battle of Boſworth, when Brackenbury the lieutenant was ſlain, and before Willoughby with the unfortunate Warwick had arrived at the Tower. On the firſt ſuppoſition, a boy, entruſted probably to ſome faithful domeſtic, and too young to be propoſed as a popular leader, had no friendly potentate to receive him on the Continent. Margaret of Burgundy might have reſtored him to Richard her brother; the courts of France and Brittany were pre-occupied by Richmond, who, as a Lancaſtrian, was hoſtile to every male of the houſe of York, and whoſe influence was ſuch, that he detained the marquis of Dorſet at Paris in an honourable cuſtody[60]. Silence and concealment were therefore neceſſary; but if on the other, and to me the more probable, ſuppoſition, his eſcape was effected after his uncle's death, and during the flight or confuſion of thoſe officers to whom the Tower was entruſted, concealment and ſilence were ſtill more requiſite. His mother was in London, and muſt have been ſenſible, that when Henry, at the head of a victorious army, aſſumed the

[60] Hall, p. 26.

crown,

crown, there was no reſource but immediate flight, no protection but profound obſcurity, to preſerve her ſon from perpetual confinement. Aſſuredly, had Henry, who diſregarded his ſiſter's pretenſions, ſecured, his perſon, Warwick's portion muſt have been his; and as they were involved in the ſame ignominious death, they muſt have ſhared for life in the ſame oblivious gloom of a dungeon. Whatever was the fate of his elder brother, whether he died in confinement, or eſcaped to the Continent, I will not preſume that he periſhed by Richard's orders, when I find the exiſtence of the youngeſt atteſted by the common report of the age, the public unſuſpicious declarations of his aunt, and Henry's ſeverity, otherwiſe unaccountable, to the queen his mother.

It was incumbent on Henry, if deſirous to vindicate his own title, to diſcredit the ducheſs of Burgundy's evidence, and to aſcertain in the moſt unequivocal manner, the ſuppoſed murder of the duke of York, and the pretended origin of Perkin Warbeck. Either would have ſufficed to detect the impoſture; but Warbeck's identity with the duke of York is, by a ſtrange fatality, beſt authenticated by Henry's narrative of the obſcure birth of the one, and his meaſures to diſcover the murder of the other. There were three circumſtances in Warbeck's hiſtory, for which a particular explanation was requiſite, —a viſible and ſtrong reſemblance of the duke of York, a perfect knowledge of the Engliſh language, and a plan projected by a foreign youth for dethroning a monarch, by perſonating a prince who had periſhed in his childhood. But of theſe the narrative adopted by hiſtorians, and the confeſſion attributed to Warbeck, contain different contradictory ſolutions.

1. In the reign of Edward IV. a Flemiſh Jew, recently converted to the Chriſtian perſuaſion, reſided during a ſeaſon in London, where his wife was delivered of a ſon, to whom, at his baptiſm, the king condeſcended to act as

ſponſor [61]. Such a godſon as Perkin, for a monarch whoſe name was Edward, is alone ridiculous; but the tale is calculated to explain that reſemblance which could not be conteſted, by the ſurmiſe of a previous intrigue between Edward and Warbeck's mother. The tale, if true, was ſuſceptible of proof; and as Henry's title to the crown was in queſtion, it was incumbent on him to eſtabliſh the fact by the teſtimony of thoſe who had either witneſſed Warbeck's baptiſm, or remembered his father at Edward's court. But the name of his pretended father is uncertain;—Warbeck according to hiſtorical narrative; Oſbeck according to the confeſſion aſcribed to Perkin, as extorted from him; a confeſſion which informs us that his birth-place was Tourney, but contains no trace of a Meſſiah from the Jews to the Engliſh nation.

2. He was removed in his infancy to Tourney, as a reſidence ſufficient for the acquiſition of the language might have involved Henry in the difficulty of proving his birth and early education in England [62]. But his knowledge of Engliſh was confeſſedly perfect, acquired, according to Bacon, in Flanders, by frequenting the company of Engliſh merchants; as if perfection were attainable in any language from the caſual intercourſe of a boy with foreigners. His confeſſion is more explicit, and more contradictory. He was born at Tourney, from which his firſt excurſion was to Antwerp, whither he was ſent to acquire the Flemiſh, his native language; afterwards he lodged at a ſkinner's adjoining to the "houſe of the Engliſh nation;" and at laſt was placed by his friends in a merchant's ſervice at Middleburgh, with whom he remained from Chriſtmas to Eaſter, for the expreſs purpoſe of learning the language. The merchant's name was John Strew; the language he taught was undoubtedly Engliſh: yet in Ireland, where Warbeck was miſtaken for a Plantagenet, the inhabitants conſtrained him, againſt

[61] Bacon. [62] Ibid.

his

his inclination, to acquire that language. Henry, ſolicitous to account for the purity of his accent, inſinuated that his knowledge of Engliſh, which commenced from his vicinity at Antwerp to the Engliſh factory, was completed during his ſtay at Middleburgh; yet diſſatisfied with this ſolution, Henry ſends him at laſt to Ireland, to be inſtructed by force in the Engliſh language. The duke of York, if attended after his eſcape from the Tower by an Engliſh domeſtic, would retain the purity, and cultivate the propriety, of his vernacular language; but that correct pronunciation, which to him was natural, could be communicated to Warbeck, neither by an intercourſe abroad with the Engliſh, nor by a ſhort and precarious reſidence among the Iriſh [63]. His pretenſions, announced on his arrival in Ireland, muſt have been authenticated by a previous acquaintance with the language; an acquaintance unaccountable, unleſs on the ſuppoſition of his being the identical duke of York.

3. That a foreigner, a youth of obſcure birth, ſhould deviſe or execute ſuch an impoſture, aſſume the name, and ſupport the character of a prince, whoſe perſon was unknown to him, indulge the prepoſterous ambition of ſupplanting a powerful and vigilant monarch, and in the character of their native prince, of uſurping the throne of a nation, to which he was an abſolute ſtranger, were contradictions which Henry was obliged to reconcile, by aſcribing the impoſture to Margaret's ſecret inſtigation and contrivance. She diſcovered in Warbeck a reſemblance of her nephew, tutored him to perſonate that prince, and, to provide for the exigencies of his future

[63] It is eaſy to eſtimate the poſſibility of the fact; the acquiſition of languages is now facilitated by grammars and dictionaries. Let us conſider then within what determinate number of years we ourſelves, reſiding in England, could acquire the Dutch or Flemiſh in perfection; and if in the courſe of a life, neither ſtudy, nor the converſe of natives, could accompliſh that, let us again conſider what reſidence abroad would be neceſſary, and we will diſcover the impoſſibility of Perkin's acquiring Engliſh abroad or in Ireland.

character,

character, ſtored his mind with inſtructions and anecdotes concerning his family. Such a character, with the beſt inſtructions, was ſurely an arduous attempt for a foreigner. In the character of princes numerous impoſtors have deceived the world, but hiſtory furniſhes no example of an impoſtor perſonating a foreign prince, to impoſe himſelf as a native on a foreign nation. The name of the unfortunate Warwick was adopted twice, but by Engliſh impoſtures. In the next century the falſe Demetrius, whoſe hiſtory has ſome reſemblance to Warbeck's, obtained for a ſhort period the Ruſſian empire; but Demetrius, whatever was his birth, was a native of the country he aſpired to govern [64]; and in our own memory, Pugalſcheff and others, who ſucceſſively aſſumed the name of their murdered ſovereign, were Ruſſians, whoſe language and manners coincided with the character they endeavoured to perſonate. Such a reſidence abroad, as might vitiate the pronunciation, and alter the manners, of the duke of York, would certainly facilitate the attempt to ſupport his character; but as Warbeck's pronunciation was confeſſedly perfect, and his behaviour conſiſtent, we may eſtimate, with ſufficient preciſion, the obſtructions to be ſurmounted by a foreign impoſtor. Suppoſe then that the tragedy of Richard the Third were exhibited at Paris, and a French youth, inſtructed by an Engliſh actor to perform the part of the duke of York; his erroneous pronunciation and defective utterance, the repugnance of his action and manners to thoſe peculiar to the Engliſh nation, his inability to preſerve or attain to propriety for a ſingle ſcene, would convince us that Warbeck, a foreigner, could not poſſibly be capacitated by Margaret's

64 Demetrius is treated uniformly as an impoſtor by Ruſſian hiſtorians, but foreigners, leſs prejudiced, are apt to recognize his title on the authority of a mother's public acknowledgment, never publicly diſowned or retracted. He was ſuppoſed to have been murdered in his infancy, but re-appeared, atteſting his eſcape, at the age of manhood.—Vide Cox's Travels.

inſtructions,

inſtructions, for the performance of the ſame character, with unexampled conſiſtency, during his life. But Margaret was herſelf incapable of informing this actor; her marriage and departure from England preceded the birth of the duke of York, nor could ſhe diſcover his reſemblance in Perkin, deſcribe his character, the features and appearance of his brothers and ſiſters, (none of whom ſhe had ever beheld,) nor inſtruct her pupil in the daily incidents, the companions and purſuits of his juvenile years, at a court in which, after her marriage, ſhe had never reſided [65]. The hiſtorical narrative is therefore falſe; but the confeſſion publiſhed as Warbeck's diſclaims it in a manner that exculpates Margaret and diſcredits itſelf. It was in Ireland, according to the confeſſion, when Warbeck appeared at Cork dreſſed in ſome ſilk clothes of his maſter, that he was firſt miſtaken for a Plantagenet, the ſon of Clarence; and when he denied it on oath, Water formerly the mayor, and Poytron an Engliſhman, repaired to him privately, maintained that he was a natural ſon of the late king Richard, aſſured him of adequate protection and ſuccour, and adviſe him to aſſume that character without being intimidated by Henry's power. "And ſo," ſays the confeſſion, "againſt my will they "forced me to learn Engliſh, and taught me what I "ſhould do and ſay; and after this they called me duke "of York, ſecond ſon of king Edward IV. becauſe king "Richard's baſtard ſon was in the hands of the king of "England." Thus the impoſture, concerted in Flanders, with ſuch artful preparation, by the ducheſs of Burgundy, diſappears from the canvas, and the whole reſolves into an idle tale of a ſervant miſtaken by the Iriſh for a prince, (not from perſonal reſemblance, but becauſe he was

65 His information has alſo been attributed to Trion, formerly Henry's French ſecretary, ſeduced from his ſervice, and diſpatched with Lucas to Warbeck in Ireland; but a Frenchman retained for a period as a clerk by Henry, could communicate few particulars, and none of the domeſtic or ſecret tranſactions of a former reign.

dreſſed

dreſſed in his maſter's clothes,) and a plan for dethroning the king of England, conſtructed on ſuch a miſtake, by the mayor of Cork. Such abſurd falſehood demonſtrates that the confeſſion was either extorted by torture, or fabricated after the execution of Warbeck. It was unknown to Fabian and Polydore Virgil, both conſemporaries [66]; but Hiſtorians of a ſubſequent period, who adopted the narrative of the latter, with ſuch deviations as their prejudice ſuggeſted, have ſuperadded to thoſe indignities, and to that diſhonourable death to which Warbeck was expoſed, a public confeſſion of his birth and parentage, his adventures and frauds, read aloud, they aſſure us, firſt when he was ſet in the ſtocks at Cheapſide, and again before his execution at Tyburn. That the confeſſion was fictitious, is certain from its falſehood; for Warbeck landed in Ireland, not to be trained to impoſture, but to aſſert his pretenſions, and to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the potent earls of Kildare and Deſmond [67]. That it was fabricated by Henry, is more than probable; but to what ſhall we attribute his ſuppreſſion of Margaret's ſhare in the impoſture? Not to any regard for Margaret, whoſe character Warham, his ambaſſador in Flanders, had loaded publicly with reproach and abuſe [68]. Henry, to render the

[66] Polydore Virgil was ſent by the Pope to England to collect the papal tribute about the year 1500, and continued there till the Reformation commenced. His hiſtory, as he informs us in a dedication to his brother, of his book De Inventoribus Rerum, was begun in 1505 at Henry's requeſt, and finiſhed in twelve years. His information was certainly derived from Henry; and with reſpect to Warbeck's execution in 1499, muſt be genuine: but he either knew not, or regarded the confeſſion as ſpurious, when he omits it in his account of Warbeck's being ſet in the ſtocks, and afterwards hanged at Tyburn; p. 608.—See Fabian alſo.

[67] His letters to theſe noblemen were ſuppoſed to have been extant in ſir James Ware's time.—Ware's Annals of Ireland, 1492.

[68] "Dr. Warham, in the latter end of his oration, a little rebuked "the lady Margaret, and hither on the thumbs, ſaying, that ſhe now "in her old age, and within few years, had produced and brought "forth two deteſtable monſters, that is to ſay, Lambert and Perkin "Warbeck; and being conceived of theſe great babes, not in eight "or

the impoſture probable, had circulated a ſtory which he could not authenticate, and in the confeſſion which he publiſhed, durſt not aſſert. The accuſation of Margaret would have rendered a proof of the impoſture neceſſary, and might have provoked her to publiſh, in her own vindication, inconteſtible evidence of Warbeck's identity with the duke of York. The repugnance between the confeſſion and the hiſtorical narrative, (both of which originated with Henry,) muſt be aſcribed to the impoſſibility of ſupporting either; and we muſt conclude that Henry was unable, either to aſcertain the pretended birth of his rival, or to remove the improbability of a foreigner, a youth of obſcure condition, aſpiring to his crown, and projecting to dethrone him, by aſſuming the character of a prince deſtroyed in his early youth, whoſe name was almoſt forgotten in the world. His ſpies were certified, it is ſaid, of Warbeck's parentage by "many honeſt perſons in "Tourney;" but that teſtimony might have been obtained by his ambaſſador in a more unexceptionable and public manner, when Warbeck was expelled by his influence from Flanders. That teſtimony was neceſſary to vindicate his title; but his inability to produce it, aſſures us that he had made no real diſcovery of Warbeck's origin, to diſprove his identity with the duke of York.

Nor is their identity refuted by Henry's pretended diſcovery of the previous murder of the duke of York. It is juſtly obſerved [69], that on Henry's acceſſion, when

"or nine months, but on the one hundred and eightieth month, for "both theſe were at the leaſt fifteen years of age before ſhe could be "brought to bed of them; and when they were newly crept out of "her womb, they were no infants, nor ſucking children, but luſty "younglings, and of age ſufficient to bid battle to kings." Gratton, p. 991.—The hiſtorian obſerves, that although Margaret was vexed at being *bit on the thumb*, Perkin was more diſconcerted at the detection of his fraud in Warham's oration. Thus Henry accuſed Margaret publicly of a ſhare in the impoſture, and afterwards retracted the accuſation in the confeſſion which he fabricated. Can that be aſcribed to decorum?

[69] Hiſtorical Doubts.

Richard

Richard and his numerous adherents were attainted, the paſſions of the people, inflamed and agitated, ſhould have been productive of an immediate inveſtigation of the murder. No inquiry was inſtituted however, not till Henry (as Bacon informs us) impriſoned, on Warbeck's appearance, Dighton and Tyrell, the ſurviving aſſaſſins, and obtaining ample confeſſions of the murder, releaſed the one "who ſpake beſt for his intereſt," but detained the other, whom he afterwards beheaded for a different crime. The purport, according to Bacon, of theſe confeſſions, was diſcovered only by public report; for Henry made no uſe of them in his ſubſequent declarations. Nor could he, for the confeſſions had not then an exiſtence. Sir James Tyrell at that time enjoyed his confidence, if not his eſteem. He had obtained from Henry the command of Guiſnes; and after Warbeck's appearance and reception at Paris, was appointed one of the commiſſioners to conclude the treaty of Eſtaples with the French [70]. He was not impriſoned till ten years afterwards; when, on Suffolk's flight in 1502, he was accuſed of treaſon, attainted, and beheaded. His confeſſion muſt be poſtponed to that period; as More informs us, that, "when "in the Tower for treaſon committed againſt Henry, he "and Dighton confeſſed the murder [71]." Henry's previous meaſures to aſcertain the murder, originated therefore in the hiſtorian's invention; and as Tyrell's crime was a confederacy with Suffolk, no reliance can be placed on a rumoured confeſſion, never publiſhed, but calculated to aſperſe the character, and vindicate the execution, of a ſoldier the victim of a tyrant's ſuſpicions. Warbeck's pretenſions required an immediate proof of the murder; but no diſcovery was made, nor inquiry inſtituted, till

70 Hall, p. 18. 55. Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 481.

71 Warbeck, who appeared in 1492, was executed in 1499. Fabian mentions ſir James Tyrell's impriſonment and execution on Suffolk's account in 1502; not a word of his confeſſion or impriſonment formerly.

Warbeck's

Warbeck's death; when a confeſſion, certainly fictitious, was faſtened on a perſon already condemned for a different crime.

Admitting then that Henry attempted neither to diſcover the murder, nor to eſtabliſh the pretended obſcurity of Warbeck's origin, that his competitor's pretenſions derive additional confirmation from his failure, there was another more obvious detection of which the impoſture was ſuſceptible, an abſolute criterion to determine its truth. Perſonal identity at different periods derives its ſole proof from the opinion of friends, and acknowledgments of kindred; and Margaret's atteſtation of her nephew's identity might have been counteracted, if falſe, by the more authoritative declarations of nearer relatives. The mother muſt have remembered her ſon, and the ſiſters their brother, whom they had formerly endeavoured to preſerve in ſanctuary, and the loſt object of their fond regret, no lapſe of time could efface from their memory. Manhood might expand, but it could not extirpate his youthful features; or if theſe were altered, a thouſand incidents ſtill remained,—the particulars of the night in which they took refuge in ſanctuary, their diſtreſſes, dangers, and mutual endearments, their laſt ſeparation and ſolemn farewel, the recollection of a ſiſter's tears and a mother's bleſſing, all remained to determine his filial and fraternal claims. The declarations of the queen-dowager, of the queen, or of her ſiſters, would have decided his character; and their denial of his pretenſions would have diſabuſed the nation, and ſilenced for ever the ſceptical voice of inquiry. "But Warbeck "never was confronted with them: they were never "aſked, Is this your ſon? is this your brother?"[72] Their verdict admitted of no appeal; but they might have recogniſed in Warbeck, the youth they had fondly cheriſhed in ſanctuary, and the emotions of nature might

[72] Hiſtorical Doubts, p. 85.

have

have diſregarded the feeble injunctions of a tyrant. This was an obvious mode of detection, far preferable to the reports of ſpies, or a ſpurious confeſſion; but the proof which Henry withheld or avoided, operates decidedly in Warbeck's favour, whoſe identity, thus eſtabliſhed by the direct or preſumptive evidence of his neareſt kindred, is farther atteſted by his father's friends, Stanley, Fitzwalter, and others, who finally ſealed their conviction with their blood. Their information, it is true, was derivative, not perſonal; yet its certainty may be eſtimated by the conviction it excited, ſuch as expoſed their lives to the rigour, and their fortunes to the rapacity, of a jealous tyrant. Their teſtimony might be corroborated, if neceſſary, by that of different contemporary princes; nor can we attribute to a ſmooth and plauſible tale the reception Warbeck experienced from James IV. or believe that, without credentials or proofs of his birth; he obtained the cordial ſupport of that monarch, and a princeſs his near relation in marriage. But the belief and declarations of friends and kindred, the opinion of the moſt reſpectable perſonages that diſtinguiſhed the period, Henry's inability to diſcover the murder, or detect the impoſture, conſtitute ſuch evidence as can only be impaired or confirmed by thoſe probable, or oſtenſible motives, with which Richard and Henry were reſpectively actuated. Acquitted of treaſon, uſurpation, and treachery, and of the murders formerly imputed to his youth, Richard's character aſſumes a milder hue, and his ſuppoſed cruelty to Edward's, ſeems irreconcileable with his tenderneſs to Clarence's iſſue, as his acceſſion, founded on the incapacity of both, rendered either equally formidable; and the attainder of the one might have been reverſed as eaſily, as the illegitimacy of the other had been declared by parliament. No adequate motive could ſtimulate to a murder which neither ſtrengthened his title, nor, during Warwick's ſurvivance, encreaſed his ſecurity; and the concluſion dedu-

ſible from the diſappearance of his nephews, and the report of their murder, is removed by the ſubſequent report of their exiſtence, and the re-appearance of the youngeſt, whoſe identity, which his friends and kindred atteſted, his implacable enemy was unable to diſcredit. Henry's apprehenſions of their appearance, are diſcovered by his ſevere and unmerited treatment of the queen-dowager, his preſervation of Lambert as a remedy againſt future *enchantments* of a ſimilar nature, his regret that Lincoln's death intercepted the knowledge of the *bottom of his danger*[73]; and his ſyſtematical depreſſion of the Yorkiſts muſt be attributed, after his marriage with Elizabeth, not to a fooliſh and incurable prejudice, but to a perſuaſion that the exiſtence of one of their princes rendered it dangerous to entruſt them with power. But the reaſon aſſigned by Henry for the execution of Warwick, *vacuam domum ſceleſtis nuptiis facere*, diſcloſes his ſecret conviction of Warbeck's deſcent from the houſe of York. At the inſtigation of Ferdinand, who refuſed his daughter while the male line of Plantagenet exiſted, Warwick was removed as an obſtruction to prince Arthur's approaching marriage[74]. His conſpiracy with Warbeck was therefore fictitious, or rather, as was underſtood at the period, a ſnare prepared for their mutual deſtruction; but as Warbeck, if an impoſtor, was no obſtacle to Arthur's nuptials, Henry, whoſe policy ſpared Lambert, ſtooped confeſſedly to a deteſtable artifice, in order to terminate his own or Ferdinand's fears, by the extinction of the two ſurviving princes of the race of Plantagenet.

That Perkin Warbeck was a genuine Plantagenet, that Richard was no uſurper, nor a tyrant ſtained with the blood of his kinſmen, are concluſions of which the reception can only be obſtructed by the difficulty of diſcarding our ancient hiſtorians. Their credit, however, is now diminiſhed; more information is traced to Morton, than

[73] Bacon. [74] Ibid.

whom there was none more intereſted in traducing his recent, deſerted ſovereign; Polydore Virgil, a courtly writer, compoſed his hiſtory at Henry's requeſt; and when ſucceeding chroniclers tranſcribed the one, and improved on the other, we may be aſſured that, during the Tudor dynaſty, literature poſſeſſed no curioſity to examine, nor ſpirit to vindicate, an obſcure and dangerous hiſtorical truth. Would hiſtorians, afraid to intimate the defect inherent in Henry's title, expreſs the ſlighteſt recognition of his rivals, or ſuggeſt a marriage that rendered himſelf an uſurper, his wife a baſtard, and the royal iſſue of England's roſes, doubly illegitimate, deſtitute of every hereditary or legal claim [75]? Would hiſtorians, whoſe rancour has branded Richard with every perſonal deformity and moral turpitude, transfer to Henry the imputation of murdering in Warbeck, the true Plantagenet, to ſecure an equivocal right to the crown? The ſame cauſes operated after the acceſſion of the Stuarts, whoſe divine or hereditary right, derived from Henry's daughter, would have been impaired by whatever tended to Richard's vindication; and Buck, the firſt who aſſerted his innocence, felt the neceſſity of procuring a new title for the reigning family, in the deſcent of James from the Saxon monarchs [76]. Bacon's hiſtory might have been compoſed from materials that are now loſt; an apologetical hiſtory, calculated to eſtabliſh his maſter's deſpotical principles, and diſplay their milder exerciſe, by the ſevere precedent of a former reign; but when the hiſtorian records as real what he conceived requiſite, who can diſcriminate facts from the produce of invention? The inquiſition concerning the murder of the princes, however

75 "A baſtard branch of Lancaſter, matched with a baſtard of "York, were obtruded on the nation as the right heirs of the crown; "and as far as two negatives make an affirmative, they were ſo."—Hiſtoric Doubts, p. 40.

76 From Margaret, Edgar Atheling's ſiſter, married to Malcolm Canmore.

requiſite,

requiſite, was not inſtituted; and Warbeck's manifeſto was perverted, either capriciouſly, or to countenance the purport of a wretched ſpeech. That manifeſto contains no explanation of his eſcape from the Tower, nor was it prudent to expoſe his ſecret deliverers to Henry's reſentment; but his ſuppoſed oration to the Scottiſh court (a fiction of Grafton's, embelliſhed by Bacon) will not perſuade us that the *ſmooth and likely tale* of his deliverance was abſurd and improbable; that his life, according to his own account, was ſpared by the compaſſion and his eſcape effected by the connivance and aid, of his brother's murderers[77]. But to thoſe who, in eſtimating the voice of hiſtory, take no computation of the character of hiſtorians, timid or venal, ſubſervient to the times, or obſequious to power, let me ſuggeſt an illuſtration that may render the preſent diſſertation not entirely barren of moral inſtruction. The fate of Richard's nephews, and the participation of the Scottiſh Mary in her huſband's murder, conſtitute two problematical queſtions in Britiſh ſtory, exemplified in the recent annals of Europe, by crimes of a more unequivocal and deteſtable die. Richard died like a ſoldier, but his memory has been perſecuted with unmerited hatred; and the beautiful and accompliſhed Mary, expelled from her throne and paternal kingdom, bewailed her misfortunes in a long captivity, and expiated her imputed guilt with her blood. The preſent generation has beheld a princeſs murder her huſband and uſurp his throne, and with deſpotic impunity rule an empire to which ſhe was an alien. We have ſeen uſurpation recognized as legal, parricide and regicide approved as glorious, by the monarchs of Europe, who inſtead, of confederating to vindicate ſovereignty thus outraged, ſolicit her alliance,

77 A ſmooth and likely tale indeed! It is obſervable that the proclamation, the only genuine evidence derived from Warbeck of his pretenſions or character, neither gives countenance to the abſurdity ſuppoſed to attend his eſcape, nor accuſes Richard of a ſingle crime; yet Bacon has given it ſuch an implied meaning.

and ſue for her friendſhip; by thoſe monarchs, who, if a gallant nation, re-aſſerting its freedom, interpoſe an intermediate power between the prince and his people, are alarmed for their own indefeaſible ſupremacy, and eager, by the conſpiracy of their flagitious arms, to reduce that ſtate to its priſtine ſervitude. Two obſervations are deducible from an example, the diſhonour, not the deteſtation, of Europe: The one is, that the virtues and the vices of the human ſpecies are, in different periods, nearly balanced: that if three centuries of progreſſive refinement have improved the manners and repreſſed the vices, they have alſo debaſed and degraded the virtues of the moderns; ſupplanted that indignation which purſued the ſuppoſed guilt of a Richard and a Mary, and inſtructed nations, at leaſt their rulers, to ſympathize with the ſucceſsful crimes of a female uſurper, not to commiſerate the wrongs of her murdered huſband. The other obſervation is, that under her deſpotiſm his fate will be converted by the diſcreet hiſtorian into a natural demiſe; and if her ſucceſſors are intereſted in her meretricious virtues, the falſehood will be propagated by future hiſtorians, till the time arrive when the crime itſelf ſhall become problematical, and the inquirer, who reads in foreign authors the *deceaſe* of the prince, will not credit the imputation of a murder, of which the annals of his country contain no trace. But when the juſt imputation of ſuch atrocity is, in this enlightened period, ſuppreſſed by power, or averted, even among foreigners[78], by its ſplendor, who will tell me that, during five reigns, and a long century, of Tudor domination, hiſtorians would venture, by the ſuggeſtion of Richard's title, to pronounce his ſucceſſors a race of uſurpers, or by a ſurmiſe of his innocence, to eſtabliſh their right on the murder of his

[78] See in Coxe's Travels, (but I forget the paſſage, the perſonage, the period of time, or the particular region,) a curious inſtance of ſuch a *deceaſe*.

nephew,

nephew, the duke of York? The Stuarts are accuſed, and perhaps with truth, of obliterating the evidence of Mary's guilt; and it is not preſumable that a document of Richard's innocence, or his nephew's exiſtence, would ſurvive the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, and eſcape the deſtructive vigilance of either Henry. But whether the ſolicitude of Mary's deſcendants has redeemed her innocence, Richard's muſt be recognized, when of numerous accuſations, no crime has been ſubſtantiated by a race of ſovereigns hoſtile to his memory, nor ſcrupulous either in the abuſe of power, or the perverſion of truth.

N°. IV.

[Ex originali in Bibl. Thomæ Aſtlei, arm.]

Recepta Scaccarij. DECLARACIO fact. metuendiſſimo domino nostro regi nunc Henrico Octavo per Johannem Cutte mîlitem ſubtheſ. Anglie tam de feodis & annuitatibus diverſarum perſonarum ſolut. ad receptam Scaccarij illuſtriſſimi principis famoſe memorie domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie Septimi quam de omnibus & ſingulis denariorum ſummis pro quibuſcumque alijs cauſis per mandatum dicti nuper regis ad receptam predictam ſolut. & aſſignat. pro uno anno integro finit. ad feſtum ſancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni ſereniſſime majeſtatis predict. nuper regis 24to. ut in conſequentibus particulis plenius apparent; videlicet,

Tempore nuper regis Henrici Septimi.

Dominis, militibus, armigeris, & diverſis alijs perſonis.

	£.	s.	d.
JOHANNI comiti Oxon. conſtabular. Turris regis London. de feod. ſuo, per annum	100	0	0
Willelmo domino Conyers—De hereditate ſua, per ann.	20	0	0

Thome

	£.	s.	d.
Thome domino Dacre—Locumtenent. Weſtmarch. verſus Scociam, per ann.	153	6	8
Thome domino Darcy—Locumtenent. Eſtmarch. verſus Scociam, per ann. -	114	13	4
Edwardo Ratcliff mil. & Rogero Fenwyk arm. } Locumtenent. Midlemarch. verſus Scociam, per ann.	114	13	4
Jacobo Strangwais mil.—De hereditate ſua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Thome Lovell mil.—Cuſtod. caſtri regis Nott. de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	26	13	4
Thome Brandon mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	40	0	0
Edwardo Darell mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Edwardo Wyngefeld mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	40	0	0
Willelmo Vampage mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	33	6	8
Rowlando Vyleyile mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Johanni Carewe mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	33	6	8
Matheo Baker arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	33	6	8
Antonio Fetyplace arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	33	6	8
Thome Parre arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	33	6	8
Ricardo Haſtyngs arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	33	6	8
Edmundo Duddely arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	66	13	4
Henrico Wyatte arm.—Clerico jocalium domini regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	13	6	8

	£.	s.	d.
Petro Shampayn arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Roberto Knollys arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	13	6	8
Thome Neville arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Johanni Heron—Rangeatori regis infra foreſtam de Waltham, per ann. -	9	2	6
Hugoni Denys—Virgebajulo infra caſtrum regis de Wyndeſore, per ann. -	18	5	0
Johanni de Roye—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	26	13	4
Edwardo Cheſeman—Coferario hoſpicij regis de appunctuac. per ann. - -	300	0	0
Andree Wyndeſore mil.—Clerico magne garderobe regis de appunctuac. per ann.	300	0	0
Johanni Meawtys—Secretario domini regis in lingua Gallica, de annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	40	0	0
Roberto Rydon—Clerico conſilij domini regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. -	26	13	4
Ricardo Dycons—Cuſtod. Brun. domini regis in communi banco, de annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	6	13	4
Willelmo Smyth—Cuſtod. †corum & al. harnec. regis infra Turrim London. de annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Roberto Haſilrigge—Cuſtod. garderobe regis infra palacium Weſtm. de feodo ſuo, per ann. - - -	12	3	4
Petro Narbone—Barbitonſori domini regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. -	13	6	8
Ricardo Gybſon & alijs luſoribus domini regis —De annuitate ſua, per ann. -	13	6	8
Henrico Glaſebury & alijs miniſtrallis domini regis.—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	53	6	8

Garcionibus

	£.	s.	d.
Garcionibus & pagettis camere domini regis de reg. inter ſe erga feſtum natalis Domini annuatim conſuet. per ann. -	100	0	0
Willelmo Cornyſhe—Magiſtro puerorum capelle regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. pro excubicione eorundem puerorum	26	13	4
Radulpho Jenette—Cuſtod. lectorum & armature domini regis infra caſtrum de Wyndeſore, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	13	13	9
Ricardo Gybſon—Portatori magne garderobe regis in civitate London. per ann.	6	1	8
Antonio Spynell—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	20	0	0
Johanni de Pounde—Armurario regis de annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Ricardo Smyth—Cuſtod. gardini regis infra Turrim London. de feodo ſuo, per ann.	9	2	6
Thome Holden—Cuſtod. hoſpicij regalis infra pallacium Weſtm. de feodo ſuo, per ann. - - -	6	1	8
Radulpho Pontiewe—Brigandario regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. -	10	0	0
Cornelio Vandeſtrete—Areſmaker, de feodo ſuo, per ann. - - -	18	5	0
Henrico Wyndeſore—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	5	0	0
Johanni Turſtan—Magiſtro barge domini regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. -	11	8	6½
Eidem Johanni—Pro vadijs 20 hominum ad ſervien̄ domino regi in barga ſua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Fredeſwide Pullenham—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	5	0	0
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 2,111	15	2½

Heraldis

Heraldis & purſevandis domini regis.

	£.	s.	d.
Thome Bevolte, al. Clarenceux herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	20	0	0
Johanni Young, al. Norrey herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	20	0	0
Johanni Pounde, al. Somerſett. herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	13	6	8
Johanni Joynor, al. Rychemounde herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann. -	13	6	8
Laurencio de la Gatta, al. Rougecrōx purſevand, de annuitate ſua, per ann. -	10	0	0
Radulpho Lagoo, al. Blewmantell purſevand, de annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	10	0	0
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 86	13	4

Diverſis perſonis eccleſiaſticis.

Magiſtro Johi Yong—Cuſtod. rotulorum cancellarie regis, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	31	8	2
Decano capelle domini regis pro oblacionibus ipſius domini regis debit' in die paſſaven, per ann.	33	6	8
Willelmo Malham—Clerico parve bage cancellar. domini regis, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	10	0	0
Fratribus minoribus Oxon.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	33	6	8
Fratribus predicatoribus Cantebrig.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	16	13	4
Fratribus minoribus Cantebrig.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	16	13	4

Fratribus

	£.	s.	d.
Fratribus predicatoribus in civitate London. —De annuitate ſua, per ann. -	20	0	0
Fratribus & ſororibus ſancte Katherine juxta Turrim London.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - - -	3	13	4
Abbatj monaſterij de Stratford—De annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	5	0	0
Willelmo Gyddyng — Clerico rectori de Ayſshe, de annuitate ſua, per ann. -	5	0	0
Ricardo Surbande—Clerico rectori capelle regis infra Turrim London. de annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	6	13	4
Infirmis leproſis ſancti Egidij London. de annuitate ſua, per ann. - -	3	0	0
Puero epiſcopo ſancti Nicholai infra capellam ſancti Stephani, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	1	0	0
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 185	13	10

Servientibus domini regis ad arma.

Gilberto Mawdeſley—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Thome Twyſday—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Hugoni Cholmeley—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Willelmo Butteler—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Jacobo Conyers—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Leonello Crafford—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Mauricio Butteler—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0

Willelmo

	£.	s.	d.
Willelmo More—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Johanni Harper—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Roberto Waſshyngton—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Edwardo Gryffith—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann. - -	18	5	0
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 200	15	0

Valectis de corona domini regis.

Johanni Wattys—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Henrico Strete—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Willelmo Almer—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Olivero Turnor—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Ricardo Davye—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Ricardo Evan—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Johanni Jeffron—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Roberto Walker—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Johanni Amyas—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Johanni Brereton—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Johanni Forde—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6

Petro

	£.	s.	d.
Petro Wratton—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Johanni Whytyngton—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Henrico Hopkyns—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Edmundo Huntewade—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Ricardo Smyth—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Johanni Almer—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 155	2	6

Clerico, valecto, & vibrellatoribus ordinac. domini regis.

Willelmo Archebald—Clerico ordinacionum domini regis, de feodo ſuo, ad 8d. per diem, per ann. - -	12	3	4
Ricardo Smythe—Valetto ordinacionum regis, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Thome Greves—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. -	9	2	6
Ricardo Fawconer—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. -	9	2	6
Eidem Ricardo—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, pro vadijs unius hominis	9	2	6
Rogero Anglois—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. -	9	2	6
Roberto Fyſsher—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Blaſio Billarde—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per ann. - -	9	2	6

	£.	s.	d.
Winardo Godfrey—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. -	9	2	6
Willelmo Ivee—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Henrico Cromer—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. - -	9	2	6
Pais Reynold—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. -	9	2	6
Euelmo Lucryand—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. -	9	2	6
Johanni Wyſtowe—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. -	9	2	6
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 130	15	10

Theſaurario Anglie, baronibus ac alijs officiarijs & miniſtris de Scaccario domini regis.

Thome duci Norff.—Domino theſaurario Anglie, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	365	0	0
Willelmo Hody milit.—Capitali baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	100	0	0
Barthō. Weſteby—Secundar. baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	46	13	4
Willelmo Bollyng.—Tercio baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	46	13	4
Johanni Aleyn—4to baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. - -	46	13	4
Thome Lovell milit.—Cancellar. regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	26	13	4
Roberto Blagge—Remem: ex parte regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	55	17	4
Edmundo Denny—Remem. ex parte theſaur. regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. - - -	64	2	6

Thome

	£.	s.	d.
Thome Darnalle—Clerico magni rotuli in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	47	19	7
Riegnaldo Fillole—Contra rotulatori magni rotuli in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	13	14	7
Quinque auditoribus in Scaccario, cuilibet eorum ad 10l. per annum, in toto per ann.	50	0	0
Edmundo Wylley—Oppoſitori forinſeco in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	16	13	4
Willelmo Atwode—Clerico extractarum in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann -	15	6	0
Roberto Briſtolle—Clerico ad placita in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	5	0	0
Ricardo Blacwall—Mareſcallo in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. - -	5	0	0
Thome Sacheverell—Summonitori in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	4	0	0
Willelmo Fermer—Clerico ad tall. jungend. in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	5	0	0
Johanni Newporte—Alteri clerico ad tall. jungend. in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. - - -	5	0	0
Johanni Majer & Johanni Copwood } Clericis ſecundar. ex parte remem. regis in Scaccario, de feodis ſuis cuilibet eorum, ad 4l. per ann. -	8	0	0
Johanni Caſtell & Johanni Dodde } Clericis ſecundarijs ex parte rem. theſ. de feodis ſuis inter ſe, per ann. - -	9	0	0
Thome Caundiſhe & Johanni Pette } Clericis ſecundar. ſub clerico magni rotuli in Scaccario cuilibet eorum, ad 5l. per ann. in toto inter ſe	10	0	0

Hoſtiario

	£.	s.	d.
Hoſtiario de Scaccario—Pro brevibus regis portand. ad diverſ. loca Anglie, pro feodis dietis ſuis, ac pro cera & alijs neceſſarijs per ipſos empt. and proviſ. per ann.	32	14	0½
Summa hujus tituli, £.	979	14	3½

Camerarijs, ſubtheſaurarijs, & alijs officiarijs & miniſtris de recepta Scaccarij regis.

Sampſoni Norton mil.—Uni camerar. recepte Scaccarij regis, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	52	3	4
Johanni Cutte mil.—Subtheſ. Anglie, de feodo ſuo, per ann. - -	173	6	8
Johanni Daunce—Uni numeratorum recepte, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	31	13	4
Johanni Haſilwode—Alteri numeratorum recepte, de feodo ſuo, per ann. -	31	13	4
Johanni Lewis—De feodo ſuo, per ann.	28	6	8
Roberto Blacwall—De feodo ſuo, per ann.	17	10	0
Johanni Milletti—De feodo ſuo, per ann.	10	0	0
Hugoni Nayler—De feodo ſuo, per ann.	10	0	0
Ricardo Barley—De feodo ſuo, per ann.	6	0	0
Thome Goldeſburgh—De feodo ſuo, per ann. - - - -	6	0	0
Hugoni Donys—Hoſtiar. de receptis pro feodis dietis ſuis, cera, & alijs neceſſarijs per ipſum empt. & proviſ. per ann.	26	4	0½
Henrico Pemberton—De feodo ſuo, per ann.	5	0	0
Willelmo Gilbert—Portatori bage cum rotulis & alijs memorandis, de feodo ſuo, per ann. - - -	6	6	8
Eidem Willelmo—Super proviſione pergameni pro officio theſ. & camerar. per ann. - - -	4	0	0

Quatuor

	£.	s.	d.
Quatuor nuncijs de recepta—Pro vadijs cujuſlibet eorum, ad 4½d. per diem inter ſe, in toto per ann. - -	27	7	6
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 435	11	6½
Summa totalis de omnibus & ſingulis feodis & annuitatibus ſupradictis ſolutis ad receptam Scaccarij illuſtriſſimi domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie ſeptimi, pro uno anno integro finito ad feſtum ſancti Michaelis Archangeli anno 24to predicti nuper regis -	£. 4,286	1	6½
Totalis ſoluc. in promptis denarijs & aſſignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis ſuper expenſis hoſpicij ſui per tempus predictum	12,759	9	11
Totalis ſoluc. in promptis denarijs & aſſign. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis ſuper expenſis & proviſione garderobe ſue per tempus ſupradictum - -	1,715	19	11
Totalis aſſignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis pro expenſis ambaſſatorum per tempus predictum	2,000	0	0
Totalis aſſignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſ-			

	£.	s.	d.
triſſimi nuper regis pro manutenencia & ſalva cuſtodia Eſte and Middlemarch. verſus Scociam pro expenſis ducis Ebor. per tempus predictum - - -	1,000	0	0
Totalis aſſignac. in tallijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis & per eundem nuper regem racione diverſ. forisfactur. ſervientibus ſuis dat nomine regardi per tempus predictum - - -	403	6	8
Totalis aſſignac. in tallijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis pro expenſis operacionum ſuarum per tempus ſupradictum - - -	333	6	8
Summa totalis omnium & ſingulorum ſolucionum & aſſignacionum predict. per illuſtriſſimum principem famoſe memorie dominum Henricum nuper regem Anglie Septimum pro diverſis & ſeparalibus cauſis diverſis perſonis conc. a feſto ſancti Michis Archangeli anno regni egregie ſue majeſtatis 23to uſque feſtum ſancti Michis Archi. proxime ſequentem anno 24to. ejuſdem nuper regis pro uno anno integro - - -	£. 22,498	4	8½

N° V.

Extracts from a MS. Book in the Remembrancer's Office, almoſt every Page ſigned by K. Henry VII.

13th Hen. VII.

ITEM, to a woman for three apples, 12d.
Item, for two pair of bellows, 10d.
Item, for the king's loſſe at tenis, 12d.
Item, for loſſe of balls there, 3d.
N. B. The king's Sunday's offering ſeems conſtantly to have been, 6s. 8d.
To the preacher of the day, 20s.
Item, for three ſackbuthes wages, 6 li.
Item, for three ſtryngmynſtrels wages, 5 li.
Item, for offering St. George's day, 30s.
John Send. nonick Rebeck, 40s. per month.
Item, for the feryboate of Rocheſter, 53s. 4d.

14th Hen. VII.

Item, a rewarde given for apples by Thomas Foteman homeward, 20d.
Item, to a ſtrange taberer, in reward, 66s. 8d.
Item, to a ſtrange tumbler, in reward, 20s.
Item, for heling of a ſeke maid, 6s. 8d.—N. B. This charge occurs frequently, and was perhaps the piece of gold given by the king in touching for the evil.—Q. If there was any ſuch piece of coin?
20th July. Item, to the mayor of Rocheſter towards the bridge there, 100s.
Item, for a ſtryngmynſtrell for one moneth's wages of Auguſt laſt paſſed, 15s.
Item, for finding three hares, 6s. 8d.—N. B. This occurs frequently.
Item, to a piper at Huntingdon, 2s.

Item, for apples preſented by a woman, 4d.
Item, for breaking of hegges at Wiſcome, 20d.
Item, to my lord prince's organ-player for a qrt. wages ending at Michell., 10s.
Item, for three dozen of leder gloves, 12s.
Item, to the yeoman of the king's chamber for their months wages of November laſt paſſed, 67l. 8s. 8d.
Item, for the wages of the ſeke yeomen, 60s.
Item, to a tumbuler at my lord Bathe's, 20s.
Item, to the pleyers of London, in reward, 10s.
Item, to the tabouretts and a tumbuler, 20s.
Item, to my lord Dudley's ſervant for bringing up a money-maker, 13s. 4d.
Item, to a Scotch fole, in reward, 13s. 4d.
Item, to ſir Thomas Brandon for a horſe, 4l.
Item, for another horſe, 4l.
Item, for a third horſe, 66s. 8d.
Item, to a Ducheman for a cage, 4l.
Item, to maſter Barnard the blind poete, 100s.
To William Eſt for digging of the conduyt at Wodeſtock, p lis. 20l.
To the abbot of Reading for lede bought for Wodeſtock, 16l.
For the carriage of the ſame, 18s.
Item, to Jakes Haute for the conduyt at Wodeſtock upon a bill, 10l. 12s. 10d.
Item, to a man and woman for ſtrawburyes, 8s. 4d.
Item, to the biſhop of Bangor's cheeſes at Lantony, 6s. 8d. N. B. This frequently.
Item, for a woman for a red roſſe, 2s.
For the hyre of a cart from London to Wodeſtock, 10s.

Extracts

Extracts from a MS. in the Remembrancer's Office.

9th Hen. VII.

Item, to Robert Forſt for appaules and cakes, 6s. 8d.

Item, to Cart for writing of a booke, 6s. 8d.

Item, to one that preſented two cakes and a cheeſe, 13s. 4d.

Item, to ſir Robert Curſon's ſervent for an horſe, 40s.

Item, to Danyell riding to Shene and Thiſtleworth, 2s.

Item, for a pair of truſsling cofres boughte, 10s.

20th Dec. Item, to a fellow with a berde, a ſpye, in reward, 20s.

Item, to two monkes, ſpeyes, in reward, 40s.

Item, payed for two pleyes in the hall, 26s. 8d.

Item, to the king's pleyers, for a rewarde, 100s.

Item, to him that brought the pnoſticacon, 6s. 8d.

Item, to the king to play at cardes, 100s.

Item, to John Ibye, a ſpye, in reward, 13s. 4d.

Item, to one who brought the king a lyon, 53s. 4d.

Item, to a ſpye that dwelleth in the weſt countrye, 20s.

For the king at tables, cheſs, glaſſes, &c. 56s. 8d.

Item, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d.

Item, to a littell ſcloo of Shafteſburye, 20s.

Item, to Pechie the fole, in rewarde, 6s. 8d.

Item, loſt to my lord Morging at buttes, 6s. 3d.

Item, to Aſshbyby for writing of a boke, 3s. 4d.

8th June. Item, to ſir Edward Boroughe which the king loſt at buttes with his croſſebowe, 13s. 4d.

10th. Item, to a Spanyarde that played the fole, 40s.

29th July. Item, to a woman that broke an heggez by the way, 12d.

5th Augst. Item, to Diego, the Spaniſh fole, in reward, 20s.

2d Octor. Item, to the ſhippes boates that brought the king's grace to and fro the ſhip the Swan, 40s.

Item, to the mariners of the ſame Swan, 6l. 13s. 4d.

Item, to the mynſtrells that played therein, 13s. 4d.

Item, to Dego, the Spaynyſhe foole, in rewarde, 6s. 8d.

Item, to a Scot, an eſpye, in rewarde, 40s.

Item, to one that preſented the king with a mule, 20s.

Item, to one that bought a lamprey, in reward, 4s.

Item, to Harry Poyning, the king's godſon, in reward, 20s.

Item, to the fole the duk of Lancaſtre.

Item, to finding one hare, 3s. 4d.

25th May. Item, to Pudeſay piper in the bagpipes, 6s. 8d.

N. B. The ſeveral items are not following each other, but copied from various places in the book.

T. ASTLE.

THE END OF THE APPENDIX.

THE

LIFE

OF

ROBERT HENRY, D. D.

DR. ROBERT HENRY, author of the "History of Great Britain, written on a new plan," was the ſon of James Henry, farmer at Muirtown in the pariſh of St. Ninian's, North Britain, and of Jean Galloway daughter of —— Galloway of Burrowmeadow in Stirlingſhire. He was born on the 18th of February 1718; and having early reſolved to devote himſelf to a literary profeſſion, was educated firſt under a Mr. John Nicholſon at the pariſh ſchool of St. Ninian's, and for ſome time at the grammar-ſchool of Stirling. He completed his courſe of academical ſtudy at the univerſity of Edinburgh, and afterwards became maſter of the grammar-ſchool of Anan. He was licenſed to preach on the 27th of March 1746, and was the firſt licentiate of the preſbytery of Anan after its erection into a ſeparate preſbytery. Soon after, he received a call from a congregation of Preſby-

terian diſſenters at Carliſle, where he was ordained in November 1748. In this ſtation he remained twelve years, and on the 13th of Auguſt 1760 became paſtor of a diſſenting congregation in Berwick upon Tweed. Here he married in 1763, Ann Balderſton, daughter of Thomas Balderſton, ſurgeon in Berwick; by whom he had no children, but with whom he enjoyed to the end of his life a large ſhare of domeſtic happineſs. He was removed from Berwick to be one of the miniſters of Edinburgh in November 1768; was miniſter of the church of the New Grey Friars from that time till November 1776; and then became colleague-miniſter in the old church, and remained in that ſtation till his death. The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on him by the univerſity of Edinburgh in 1770; and in 1774 he was unanimouſly choſen moderator of the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland, and is the only perſon on record who obtained that diſtinction the firſt time he was a member of the aſſembly.

From theſe facts which contain the outlines of Dr. Henry's life, few events can be expected to ſuit the purpoſe of the biographer. Though he muſt have been always diſtinguiſhed among his private friends, till he was tranſlated to Edinburgh he had few opportunities of being known to the public. The compoſition of ſermons muſt have occupied a chief part of his time during his reſidence at Carliſle, and his induſtry in that ſtation is known to have rendered his labours in this department eaſy to him during the reſt of his life.

But

But even there he found leiſure for other ſtudies; and the knowledge of claſſical literature, in which he eminently excelled, ſoon enabled him to acquire an extent of information which qualified him for ſomething more important than he had hitherto had in his view.

Soon after his removal to Berwick, he publiſhed a ſcheme for raiſing a fund for the benefit of the widows and orphans of Proteſtant diſſenting miniſters in the north of England. This idea was probably ſuggeſted by the proſperity of the fund which had almoſt thirty years before been eſtabliſhed for a proviſion to miniſters widows, &c. in Scotland. But the ſituations of the clergy of Scotland were very different from the circumſtances of diſſenting miniſters in England. Annuities and proviſions were to be ſecured to the families of diſſenters, without ſubjecting the individuals (as in Scotland) to a proportional annual contribution, and without ſuch means of creating a fund as could be the ſubject of an act of parliament to ſecure the annual payments. The acuteneſs and activity of Dr. Henry ſurmounted theſe difficulties; and, chiefly by his exertions, this uſeful and benevolent inſtitution commenced about the year 1762. The management was entruſted to him for ſeveral years; and its ſucceſs has exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations which were formed of it. The plan itſelf, now ſufficiently known, it is unneceſſary to explain minutely. But it is mentioned here, becauſe Dr. Henry was accuſtomed in the laſt years of his life to ſpeak of this inſtitution with peculiar affection,

and

and to reflect on its progreſs and utility with that kind of ſatisfaction which a good man can only receive from "the labour of love and of good "works."

It was probably about the year 1763 that he firſt conceived the idea of his hiſtory of Great Britain: a work already eſtabliſhed in the public opinion: and which will certainly be regarded by poſterity, not only as a book which has greatly enlarged the ſphere of hiſtory, and gratifies our curioſity on a variety of ſubjects which fall not within the limits preſcribed by preceding hiſtorians, but as one of the moſt accurate and authentic repoſitories of hiſtorical information which this country has produced. The plan adopted by Dr. Henry, which is indiſputably his own, and its peculiar advantages, are ſufficiently explained in his general preface. In every period it arranges, under ſeparate heads or chapters, the civil and military hiſtory of Great Britain; the hiſtory of religion; the hiſtory of our conſtitution, government, laws, and courts of juſtice; the hiſtory of learning, of learned men, and of the chief ſeminaries of learning; the hiſtory of arts; the hiſtory of commerce, of ſhipping, of money or coin, and of the price of commodities; and the hiſtory of manners, virtues, vices, cuſtoms, language, dreſs, diet, and amuſements. Under theſe ſeven heads, which extend the province of an hiſtorian greatly beyond its uſual limits, every thing curious or intereſting in the hiſtory of any country may be comprehended. But it certainly required more than a common ſhare of literary courage to attempt

attempt on ſo large a ſcale a ſubject ſo intricate and extenſive as the hiſtory of Britain from the invaſion of Julius Cæſar. That Dr. Henry neither overrated his powers nor his induſtry, could only have been proved by the ſucceſs and reputation of his works.

But he ſoon found that his reſidence at Berwick was an inſuperable obſtacle to the minute reſearches which the execution of his plan required. His ſituation there excluded him from the means of conſulting the original authorities; and though he attempted to find acceſs to them by means of his literary friends, and with their aſſiſtance made ſome progreſs in his work, his information was notwithſtanding ſo incomplete, that he found it impoſſible to proſecute his plan to his own ſatisfaction, and was at laſt compelled to relinquiſh it.

By the friendſhip of Gilbert Laurie, Eſq. late lord provoſt of Edinburgh, and one of his majeſty's commiſſioners of exciſe in Scotland, who had married the ſiſter of Mrs. Henry, he was removed to Edinburgh in 1768; and to this event the public are indebted for his proſecution of the Hiſtory of Great Britain. His acceſs to the public libraries, and the means of ſupplying the materials which theſe did not afford him, were from that time uſed with ſo much diligence and perſeverance, that the firſt volume of his Hiſtory in quarto was publiſhed in 1771, the ſecond in 1774, the third in 1777, the fourth in 1781, and the fifth (which brings down the hiſtory to the acceſſion of Henry VII.) in 1785. The ſubject of theſe volumes compre-

hends the moſt intricate and obſcure periods of our hiſtory; and when we conſider the ſcanty and ſcattered materials which Dr. Henry has digeſted, and the accurate and minute information which he has given us under every chapter of his work, we muſt have a high opinion both of the learning and induſtry of the author, and of the vigour and activity of his mind; eſpecially when it is added, that he employed no amanuenſis, but completed the manuſcript with his own hand; and that, excepting the firſt volume, the whole book, ſuch as it is, was printed from the original copy. Whatever corrections were made on it, were inſerted by interlineations, or in reviſing the proof-ſheets. He found it neceſſary, indeed, to confine himſelf to a firſt copy, from an unfortunate tremor in his hand, which made writing extremely inconvenient, which obliged him to write with his paper on a book placed on his knee inſtead of a table, and which unhappily increaſed to ſuch a degree that in the laſt years of his life he was often unable to take his victuals without aſſiſtance. An attempt which he made after the publication of the fifth volume to employ an amanuenſis did not ſucceed. Never having been accuſtomed to dictate his compoſitions, he found it impoſſible to acquire a new habit; and though he perſevered but a few days in the attempt, it had a ſenſible effect on his health, which he never afterwards recovered.—An author has no right to claim indulgence, and is ſtill leſs entitled to credit from the public, for any thing which can be aſcribed to negligence in committing his manuſcripts to the

preſs; but conſidering the difficulties which Dr. Henry ſurmounted, and the accurate reſearch and information which diſtinguiſh his hiſtory, the circumſtances which have been mentioned are far from being unintereſting, and muſt add conſiderably to the opinion formed of his merit among men who are judges of what he has done. He did not profeſs to ſtudy the ornaments of language; but his arrangement is uniformly regular and natural, and his ſtyle ſimple and perſpicuous. More than this he has not attempted, and this cannot be denied him. He believed that the time which might be ſpent in poliſhing or rounding a ſentence, was more uſefully employed in inveſtigating and aſcertaining a fact: and as a book of facts and ſolid information, ſupported by authentic documents, his Hiſtory will ſtand a compariſon with any other Hiſtory of the ſame period.

But Dr. Henry had other difficulties to ſurmount than thoſe which related to the compoſition of his work. Not having been able to tranſact with the bookſellers to his ſatisfaction, the five volumes were originally publiſhed at the riſk of the author. When the firſt volume appeared, it was cenſured with an unexampled acrimony and perſeverance. Magazines, reviews, and even newſpapers, were filled with abuſive remarks and invectives, in which both the author and the book were treated with contempt and ſcurrility. When an author has once ſubmitted his works to the public, he has no right to complain of the *juſt* ſeverity of criticiſm. But Dr. Henry had to contend with the inveterate

ſcorn

ſcorn of malignity. In compliance with the uſual cuſtom, he had permitted a ſermon to be publiſhed which he had preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge in 1773, a compoſition containing plain good ſenſe on a common ſubject, from which he expected no reputation. This was eagerly ſeized on by the adverſaries of his Hiſtory, and torn to pieces with a virulence and aſperity which no want of merit in the ſermon could juſtify or explain. An anonymous letter had appeared in a newſpaper to vindicate the Hiſtory from ſome of the unjuſt cenſures which had been publiſhed, and aſſerting from the real merit and accuracy of the book the author's title to the approbation of the public. An anſwer appeared in the courſe of the following week, charging him, in terms equally confident and indecent, with having written this letter in his own praiſe. The efforts of malignity ſeldom fail to defeat their purpoſe, and to recoil on thoſe who direct them. Dr. Henry had many friends, and till lately had not diſcovered that he had any enemies. But the author of the anonymous vindication was unknown to him, till the learned and reſpectable Dr. Macqueen, from the indignation excited by the confident petulancce of the anſwer, informed him that the letter had been written by him. Theſe anecdotes are ſtill remembered. The abuſe of the Hiſtory, which began in Scotland, was renewed in ſome of the periodical publications in South Britain; though it is juſtice to add (without meaning to refer to the candid obſervations of

Engliſh

Engliſh critics), that in both kingdoms the aſperity originated in the ſame quarter, and that paragraphs and criticiſms written at Edinburgh were printed in London. The ſame ſpirit appeared in Strictures publiſhed on the ſecond and third volumes; but by this time it had in a great meaſure loſt the attention of the public. The malevolence was ſufficiently underſtood and had long before become fatal to the circulation of the periodical paper from which it originally proceeded. The book, though printed for the author, had ſold beyond his moſt ſanguine expectations; and had received both praiſe and patronage from men of the firſt literary characters in the kingdom: and though, from the alarm which had been raiſed, the bookſellers did not venture to purchaſe the property till after the publication of the fifth volume, the work was eſtabliſhed in the opinion of the public, and at laſt rewarded the author with a high degree of celebrity, which he happily lived to enjoy.

In an article relating to Dr. Henry's life, not to have mentioned the oppoſition which his Hiſtory encountered, would have been both affectation and injuſtice. The facts are ſufficiently remembered, and are unfortunately too recent to be more minutely explained. That they contributed at firſt to retard the ſale of the work is undeniable, and may be told without regret now that its reputation is eſtabliſhed. The book has raiſed itſelf to eminence as a Hiſtory of Great Britain by its own merits; and the means employed to obſtruct its progreſs have only ſerved to embelliſh its ſucceſs.

Dr.

Dr. Henry was no doubt encouraged from the firſt by the decided approbation of ſome of his literary friends, who were allowed to be the moſt competent judges of his ſubject; and in particular by one of the moſt eminent hiſtorians of the preſent age, whoſe hiſtory of the ſame periods juſtly poſſeſſes the higheſt reputation. The following character of the firſt and ſecond volumes was drawn up by that gentleman, and is well entitled to be inſerted in a narrative of Dr. Henry's life. "Thoſe "who profeſs a high eſteem for the firſt volume of "Dr. Henry's Hiſtory, I may venture to ſay, are "almoſt as numerous as thoſe who have peruſed it, "provided they be competent judges of a work of "that nature, and are acquainted with the diffi- "culties which attend ſuch an undertaking. Many "of thoſe who had been ſo well pleaſed with the "firſt were impatient to ſee the ſecond volume, "which advances into a field more delicate and "intereſting; but the Doctor hath ſhown the "maturity of his judgment, as in all the reſt, ſo "particularly in giving no performance to the "public that might appear crude or haſty, or com- "poſed before he had fully collected and digeſted "the materials. I venture with great ſincerity to "recommend this volume to the peruſal of every "curious reader who deſires to know the ſtate of "Great Britain, in a period which has hitherto "been regarded as very obſcure, ill ſupplied with "writers, and not poſſeſſed of a ſingle one that "deſerves the appellation of a good one. It is "wonderful what an inſtructive, and even enter-

"taining

" taining book the Doctor has been able to com-
" poſe from ſuch unpromiſing materials: *Tantum*
" *ſeries juncturaque pollet.* When we ſee thoſe
" barbarous ages delineated by ſo able a pen, we
" admire the oddneſs and ſingularity of the man-
" ners, cuſtoms, and opinions of the times, and
" ſeem to be introduced into a new world; but we
" are ſtill more ſurpriſed, as well as intereſted,
" when we reflect that thoſe ſtrange perſonages
" were the anceſtors of the preſent inhabitants of
" this iſland. The object of an antiquary hath
" been commonly diſtinguiſhed from that of an
" hiſtorian; for though the latter ſhould enter into
" the province of the former, it is thought that it
" ſhould only be *quanto baſta*, that is, ſo far as is
" neceſſary, without comprehending all the minute
" diſquiſitions which give ſuch ſupreme pleaſure to
" the mere antiquary. Our learned author hath
" fully reconciled theſe two characters. His hiſ-
" torical narrative is as full as thoſe remote times
" ſeem to demand, and at the ſame time his in-
" quiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing
" which can be an object of doubt or curioſity.
" The one as well as the other is delivered with
" great perſpicuity, and no leſs propriety, which
" are the true ornaments of this kind of writing.
" All ſuperfluous embelliſhments are avoided; and
" the reader will hardly find in our language any
" performance that unites together ſo perfectly the
" two great points of entertainment and inſtruction."
—The gentleman who wrote this character died before the publication of the third volume *.

* The quarto Edition in ſix Volumes is referred to throughout.

The progreſs of Dr. Henry's work introduced him to more extenſive patronage, and in particular to the notice and eſteem of the late earl of Manſfield. That venerable nobleman, who was ſo well entitled to the gratitude and admiration of his country, thought the merit of Dr. Henry's hiſtory ſo conſiderable, that, without any ſolicitation, after the publication of the fourth volume, he applied perſonally to his Majeſty to beſtow on the author ſome mark of his royal favour. In conſequence of this, Dr. Henry was informed by a letter from lord Stormont, then ſecretary of State, of his Majeſty's intention to confer on him an annual penſion for life, of 100l. "conſidering his diſtinguiſhed talents and great literary merit, and the importance of the very uſeful and laborious work in which he was ſo ſucceſsfully engaged, as titles to his royal countenance and favour." The warrant was iſſued on the 28th of May 1781; and his right to the penſion commenced from the 5th of April preceding. This penſion he enjoyed till his death, and always conſidered it as inferring a new obligation to perſevere ſteadily in the proſecution of his work. From the earl of Mansfield he received many other teſtimonies of eſteem both as a man and as an author, which he was often heard to mention with the moſt affectionate gratitude. The octavo edition of his hiſtory, publiſhed in 1788, was inſcribed to his lordſhip. The quarto edition had been dedicated to the king.

The property of the work had hitherto remained with himſelf; but in April 1786, when an octavo edition

edition was intended, he conveyed the property to Meſſrs. Cadell and Strahan for the Sum of 1000l.; reſerving to himſelf what ſtill remained unſold of the quarto edition. Dr. Henry had kept very accurate accounts of the ſales from the time of the original publication; and after his laſt tranſaction he found that his real profits had amounted in the whole to about 3300l.; a ſtriking proof of the intrinſic merit of a work which had forced its way to the public eſteem, in ſpite of the malignant oppoſition with which the firſt volumes had to ſtruggle.

The proſecution of his hiſtory had been Dr. Henry's favourite object for almoſt thirty years of his life. He had naturally a ſound conſtitution, and a more equal and larger portion of animal ſpirits than is commonly poſſeſſed by literary men: but from the year 1785 his bodily ſtrength was ſenſibly impaired: notwithſtanding this he perſiſted ſteadily in preparing his ſixth volume, which brings down the hiſtory to the acceſſion of Edward VI. and it is now publiſhed by his executors; they flatter themſelves that it will be found entitled to the ſame favourable reception from the public which has been given to the former volumes. It was written under the diſadvantages of bad health and great weakneſs of body. The tremulous motion of his hand had increaſed ſo as to render writing much more difficult to him than it had ever been: but the vigour of his mind and his ardour were unimpaired; and, independent of the general character of his works, the poſthumous volume will be a laſting monument

of the ſtrength of his faculties, and of the literary induſtry and perſeverance which ended only with his life.

Dr. Henry's original plan extended from the invaſion of Britain by the Romans to the preſent times: and men of literary curioſity muſt regret that he has not lived to complete his deſign; but he has certainly finiſhed the moſt difficult parts of his ſubject. The periods after the acceſſion of Edward VI. afford materials more ample, better digeſted, and much more within the reach of common readers.

The works of an author make ſo conſiderable a part of his perſonal hiſtory, that the account of them is in danger of encroaching on the place which ought to be reſerved for his private life. But though Dr. Henry's character as a man was ſufficiently intereſting, his death is too recent to permit the minuteneſs of a biographer. An account of his habits, his friendſhips, his amuſements, his convivial intercourſe, ſuch as a reader of narratives of this ſort expects, cannot be given to thoſe who ſhared in his ſociety, without mixing the hiſtory of the living with the character of the dead. Nothing but what is general can be ſaid; and much muſt therefore be withheld which a friend might wiſh to read, and which might gratify the curioſity of a ſtranger.

Though his literary engagements might have been ſuppoſed to have given him ſufficient employment, he always found time for what he believed to be objects of public utility, as well as for the offices

offices of private friendſhip. In public life no man was more ſteady or active in purſuing his purpoſe, or ſought the means of attaining it with more integrity. As an eccleſiaſtical man, he followed the unbiaſſed dictates of his own mind, uniformly promoting the meaſures which he thought moſt for the intereſt of religion and of his country, and perſevering in the principles he avowed, though in the general aſſembly they moſt frequently led him to be included in the votes of the minority. Of the public ſocieties of Edinburgh he was always one of the moſt uſeful and indefatigable members; regular in his attendance as long as his health permitted him, and always pure in his intentions. But in ſerving and aſſiſting his private friends, he diſcovered an ardour and activity through his whole life more intereſting than the moſt diſtinguiſhed literary fame; even the ſons of thoſe who had once been his companions, were certain of every aſſiſtance in his power, if he thought they deſerved it; and no conſideration could perſuade him to deſert a man whom he eſteemed, or whom he believed to have a claim on his friendſhip. He was particularly attentive to young men who were proſecuting a literary education. He had himſelf experienced difficulties in his youth, and mentioned them often as motives which he could not reſiſt, to aſſiſt the induſtry and merit of other men. His activity to ſerve his friends was always accompanied with an earneſtneſs and good will, which added greatly to the obligations he conferred. Beſides his friends, he was particularly attentive to his relations; of

whom he had a number, whose circumstances were not opulent; with them he shared his good fortune, as soon as the profits of his book enabled him to be useful to them; and, with the exception of an annuity to Mrs. Henry, and a few small legacies, left them by his will all the property he had acquired. His pension and the profits of his book had placed him at last in easy circumstances, and enabled him to do for his relations what gave great satisfaction to his worthy and benevolent mind.

Dr. Henry was naturally fond of society; and few men ever enjoyed society more perfectly, or were capable of contributing so much to the pleasures of conversation. Notwithstanding his literary pursuits, he was always ready to make one in a party of his friends; and attached himself to pleasant and respectable companions wherever he found them, without any regard to the competitions or contrary opinions which unhappily so often prevent worthy men from associating. His extensive knowledge, his cheerfulness and pleasantry, his inexhaustible fund of humour and anecdote, would have made him a distinguished character among any description of men, although he had had no pretensions as an author. His great extent of solid information give a variety to his conversation, to which much was added by his talents for convivial pleasantry. He had a story or anecdote ready for every occasion, and adapted to every subject; and was peculiarly happy in selecting the circumstances which could render it interesting and pointed. If the same narratives were sometimes repeated, a circumstance which

which was unavoidable, they were always ſeaſoned with a new reliſh; and even thoſe who lived moſt with him, have ſeldom been in his company without hearing from him ſomething which was as new to them as to ſtrangers. His character was uniform to the end. He converſed with the ardour and even with the gaiety of youth long after his bodily ſtrength had yielded to the infirmities of age; and even within a few days of his death, which he was every day expecting, he could mix anecdotes and pleaſantry with the moſt ſerious diſcourſe.

For ſeveral years he had ſpent a part of every ſeaſon at Milnfield, a country-houſe with a few acres ſurrounding it, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, of which he had a leaſe for his own life and Mrs. Henry's. He had been attracted to this ſituation by its vicinity to his friend Mr. Laurie's eſtate, to whoſe family he had always an affectionate attachment. Here he proſecuted his ſtudies without interruption; and amuſed himſelf with ſuch improvements and alterations on his ſmall farm as his convenience or his fancy ſuggeſted to him. He built a ſmall room for a library, which he had ſurrounded with trees, and inſcribed "*Otio et Muſis;*" and, the ſituation admitting of it, he fitted up on the ground floor a place for a cold bath, which his phyſicians had directed him to uſe; on the door of which he had written, "Be eaſily pleaſed;" a circumſtance highly characteriſtical of his own temper in the common affairs of life.

His health had been gradually declining ſince the year 1785. He had been unable to preach for

ſeveral

ſeveral years, and an aſſiſtant had ſupplied his place. On this account he ſpent more of his time than uſual at Milnfield. Till the ſummer of 1790 he was able to purſue his ſtudies, though not without ſome interruptions: but at that time, though he had no particular diſeaſe, a univerſal relaxation and debility aſſured him that his conſtitution was exhauſted. What rendered his ſituation more depreſſing ſtill, Mrs. Henry had for ſome time diſcovered ſymptoms of a cataract on her eyes, which in 1790 reduced her to a ſtate of almoſt total blindneſs. In the month of Auguſt he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where ſhe ſubmitted to an operation, which was ſo far unſucceſsful, that ſhe did not recover her ſight during his life. From the time of his return to Milnfield in September, his ſtrength was ſenſibly diminiſhed; and he was ſoon convinced that he had but a few weeks to live. No man could meet death with more equanimity or fortitude, or with a fortitude derived from better ſources. He mentioned his death eaſily, and often as an event which in his ſituation was deſirable, ſenſible that from the exhauſted ſtate of his body he could no longer enjoy this world, or be uſeful in it; and expreſſing in the moſt explicit terms his firm perſuaſion of the great doctrines of Chriſtianity, and the full expectation he derived from them of "life and immortality through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord." His faculties were perfectly entire; nor could any change be obſerved in his manner or converſation with his friends. He was never confined to bed, and converſed eaſily till within a few hours of his death.

death. He had a ſtrength of mind which falls to the lot of few; and Providence permitted him to preſerve the full poſſeſſion of it.

A few days before his death he executed a deed, which he dictated himſelf, by which he diſponed his collection of books to the magiſtrates, town-council, and preſbytery of Linlithgow, as the foundation of a public library; under certain regulations and conditions which he expreſſed very diſtinctly, and by means of which he flattered himſelf that a library might at laſt be created, which might contribute to diffuſe knowledge and literature in the country. This idea had been ſuggeſted to him by his experience in the public utility of libraries of this ſort, which had been eſtabliſhed at Berwick and at Kelſo. By ſuch inſtitutions the means of knowledge may be obtained in remote ſituations at a ſmall expence, and are eaſily circulated among the different orders of men: and though his collection of books was not a large one, he believed that the inſtitution required only to be begun under proper regulations, and might ſoon become conſiderable if proper attention ſhould be given to it. His intentions were certainly pure; and the rules he ſuggeſted well ſuited to the deſign. The magiſtrates of Linlithgow have prepared a room, and curators for the management of the library have been choſen in terms of the deed. The public have reaſon to expect from them every thing by which they can promote the benevolent and reſpectable intentions of the founder. He gave very minute directions with regard to his affairs, and

even dictated a list of his friends whom he wished to be present at his funeral; and with a constitution quite worn out, died on the 24th of November 1790, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of Polmont, where a monument is erected to his memory.

Dr. Henry's personal virtues will not be soon forgotten. Among his friends he will always be remembered with tenderness: and his character as an author will be respected by posterity, long after the events of his private life shall become too distant to be interesting.

THE END.

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